

The Historian

Number 23

Summer 1989



Responding to the Interim Report of the History Working Group Regional Conferences Autumn 1989

Using their network of teacher contacts, the Historical Association and the Schools History Project are organising a series of conferences in September to gauge the reaction of teachers and members of the general public to the Interim Report of the History Working Group. The aim of the conferences is to sample teacher opinion as widely as possible on the Interim Report and submit comments about it to the Working Group during October. Since the Working Group has to report by the end of the year, any comments received after the end of October are unlikely to have much influence. While the nature of the Interim Report will obviously shape the conferences, they are likely to have some common themes – e.g. History in Primary Schools, Progress in Content and Skills 5-16, Assessment, Cross-curricular themes, Profiling, Resources /INSET. Discussion papers on these subjects are being prepared.

- Birmingham** 16.9.89 Midlands History Forum/HA/SHP. £1 (cheques payable to Midlands History Forum). Sue Bardwell, 6 Blakemore Drive, Sutton Coldfield B75 7RN
- Liverpool** 16.9.89 £6.75. P Colyer, 8 Glyn Ave, Bromborough, Winal L62 6AJ
- Exeter** 16.9.89 £15 incl. lunch (cheques payable to School of Education, Exeter University). Dr J Nichol, History Centre, School of Education, Exeter University, Heavitree Road, Exeter.
- Cambridge** 23.9.89 The Cambridge Institute of Education/HA. £12 incl. lunch (cheques payable to Cambridge Institute of Education). Courses Office, Cambridge Institute of Education, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 2BX.
- Maidstone** 23.9.89 £5 incl. lunch. Mrs C Lloyd, 15 Keston Gdns, Keston, Kent.
- Guildford** 23.9.89 £12 incl. lunch. R Medley, Bishop Wand School, Laytons Lane, Sunbury on Thames, Middlesex TW16 6LT.
- Oxford** 23.9.89 £7 incl. lunch. M Roberts, Cherwell Upper School, Marston Ferry Road, Oxford OX2 7EE.
- Leeds** 29.9.89 Leeds University/HA/SHP. £10 (cheque payable to University of Leeds). G Mattock, Organiser of In-service Training, School of Education, Leeds University, Leeds LS2 9JT.
- Southampton** 30.9.89 £7.75 incl. lunch. T Holder, La Sainte Union College of Higher Education, The Avenue, Southampton SO9 5HB.
- London** 30.9.89 History Centre/HA/SHP. £5 incl. lunch (cheques payable to ILEA Collection Account) Kate Morse, History & Social Science Centre, Charlotte Sharman Primary School, West Square, St Georges Road, London SE11 4SN
- Durham** 14.10.89 'Humanities in the Curriculum' Conference. £7 including lunch (cheques payable to Professor G Batho). Professor G Batho, School of Education, Leazes Road, Durham.

Please send your bookings IMMEDIATELY to the organiser's address appropriate to the conference you wish to attend

State clearly how many places you wish to book and which conference you are booking for. Please remember to give us the names, home and professional addresses of all members of your party, and their occupations.

If any member of your party is not a member of the Historical Association and would like details sent to them please let us know



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The Historian

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The magazine of the Historical Association

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The picture on the front cover is: Part of the illuminated pedigree of the Hesketh family, made in or about 1594. The group of three comprises Thomas Hesketh (d. 1523), who divorced his first wife Elizabeth (on the right) for adultery, and married his second, Grace (on the left), before the pope had made the annulment official (permission British Library: BL Add. MS 44026, ff.7v-8).

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Editorial

Citizenship or Subjectship?

In announcing the National Curriculum Working Group in History to the House of Commons in January 1989, the Secretary of State chose 'citizenship' as his first concept:

The study of history is the foundation stone of citizenship and democracy

Yet, history teachers studying recent HMI publications will be aware that neither 'citizen' nor 'citizenship' is listed among the 'concepts and ideas commonly used in history teaching with pupils up to the age of 16' (*History in the Primary and Secondary Years*, 1985); nor do the terms appear prominently in *History from 5 to 16: Curriculum Matters 11* published in 1988. According to recent reports a proposed GCSE in Citizenship is unlikely to get off the launching pad as part of a phase of rationalisation to be approved by the DES.

Dictionary definitions of the words 'citizen' and 'citizenship' suggest freemen or enfranchised townsmen enjoying civic and democratic rights and privileges, but also with duties and responsibilities. Shakespeare's Jacques might well despise the 'fat and greasy citizens' but more often quotations on the subject suggest cosmopolitan improvement and education. Historically, the terms may also have connotations with revolutionary upheaval, republicanism and the propensity of citizens to control their own affairs. At the time of the French Revolution the title *Monsieur* gave way to *citoyen* (and *citoyenne*), and the French citizenry attained a place of honour in the words of *La Marseillaise*, while George Washington noted (1799) that:

if the citizens of the United States should not be free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

It has even been suggested, by some people, that the current interest in 'citizenship' in the United Kingdom has been stimulated by radical conservatism or the so-called 'Thatcherite Revolution' of the 1980s.

Historians are well equipped to point out what citizenship meant in other times and in other communities. Professor D.W. Brogan in his classic *Citizenship Today* (1960) discussed the

different use of the word 'citizen' in Great Britain on the one hand, and in France and the United States on the other. Historically, the term 'citizen' has not been widely used in the United Kingdom and common usage focuses on the British 'subject' rather than the British 'citizen', whereas the United States and France embrace strongly the notion of citizenship. Since the American Revolution there have been only American citizens and the notion of 'subject' has been repugnant. From the time of their Revolution, the French too had only citizens (when Tom Paine went to France in the 1790s he was accorded French citizenship); whereas in the French Empire there was a livelier sense of being subjects rather than of being citizens of France. Faced in 1850 with a choice of two possible translations, 'citizen' or 'subject', Palmerston had no doubt in his famous *Civis Romanus sum* speech:

so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong.

Today, in the last throes of empire, many residents in Hong Kong who are the Queen's subjects, but who possess only the illusory citizenship of British National (Overseas), are only too aware of the distinction between subject and citizen status.

The distinction between 'subject' and 'citizen' reflects differences in the concepts not only of citizenship but of sovereignty. In his widely acclaimed *History of the World*, John Roberts (currently a member of the History Working Group) sought to explain why Great Britain avoided political revolution in the nineteenth century:

Social hierarchy (conferred by birth and land if possible, but if not, money would do) stratified the United Kingdom; every observer was struck by the assured confidence of the English ruling classes that they were meant to rule ... it does not seem that the English masses were themselves very revolutionary ... it is at least worth noticing, as did contemporary visitors, that in England traditional patterns of behaviour died hard; it was long to remain a country with habits of deference to social superiors which much struck foreigners — especially Americans.

Passport terminology recognises both the 'British subject' and the 'citizen of

the United Kingdom. When we do employ the concept of citizenship it tends to be in connection with rights — for example, Citizen's Advice Bureaux. Notions of 'citizenship' and 'giving more power to the individual' have assumed a higher profile in recent years although, paradoxically, they have occurred when a growing number of British citizens feel that the very foundations of civil society, and the institutions on which British democracy depends, are being seriously undermined. The words 'citizen' and 'subject' arouse different sentiments and emotional responses. 'Citizen' has connotations of rights and freedom; 'subject' has connotations of loyalty, obedience, deference. In governmental and historical terms, 'citizen' tends to fit more readily to republican forms, 'subject' to hereditary monarchy. Citizens, as in the aims of Charter 88, represent freedom of information; subjects tend to be more prepared to accept what is given, believing that 'government knows best'.

Recent emphasis on 'citizenship' is to be welcomed if it is viewed, not in terms of an extension of the notion of 'subject' whereby individuals become more obedient and unquestioning, but rather in terms of an educated citizenry, trusted with (and able to avail itself of) information. Among the lessons of history and, hopefully, among the history lessons which will continue to find a place in the school curriculum must surely be that citizenship and democracy were achieved by struggles against non-democratic structures and can only be preserved by constant vigilance.

If the proposition is accepted that 'the study of history is the foundation stone of citizenship and democracy' (Kenneth Baker), that 'its character as a discipline ... makes it the single most valuable subject up to the age of 16 for the maintenance of a mature democracy' (Sir Keith Joseph), and that 'effectiveness as citizens will depend above all on the crucial historical skills of assessing and evaluating the record of human behaviour' (HMI) then historians must recognise the enormity of their responsibility as educators and communicators. At the same time they can be assured that the nature of their discipline equips them to meet the challenges offered. When a joint report of the Historical, Geographical, Classics, English and Modern Language Associations was presented in 1916 it noted that:

In all reform of education, it must never be forgotten that the first object is the training of human beings in the mind and character as citizens of a free country.

Women in the Two World Wars



1: The four Grinter sisters, who joined the Women's Land Army in 1917, dressed in the uniform of overalls, breeches, gaiters and soft hats.

Penny Summerfield

Historians have tended to see the two World Wars of the twentieth century as emancipatory for women.¹ The end of each war, so the argument goes, was marked by a symbol of progress; in 1918 it was the granting of the vote, and in 1945 it was the serious consideration of the issue of equal pay by a Royal Commission.² Even though there is now a considerable amount of work emphasising the continuity in women's status as low paid workers suffering from low esteem, whose principal role was a domestic one,³ the issue of the extent and nature of wartime change for women is still open. An important

contributory factor has been the growing body of personal testimony, especially that collected by the techniques of oral history, in which women have emphasised the profound disruption that war brought to their lives.

This article considers the impact of the two World Wars on British women from two perspectives: first, women's work participation in each war and the effect of demobilisation on their place in the labour market, and secondly, how women experienced wartime change personally, at work and within the private realm of marriage and the family.

Women's work participation

Between 1914 and 1918 there was an increase of about one and a half million women in the industrial labour force. A similar figure appears in the Second World War; in 1943 there were one and a half million more women working in the so-called 'essential' industries than there had been in 1939. In both wars, only some of these women had never worked before. Most of them had moved from industries like textiles and clothing and from services such as waitressing, shopwork and personal domestic service where the pay was lower and the conditions of work were often lonely and disagreeable. It was not only in industry and transport that the number of women workers increased dramatically. They were also employed in white collar work in larger numbers than before. The total in commerce, banking and the civil service rose by 500,000 between 1914 and 1917 and by 600,000 between 1939 and 1943.

One of the most dramatic signs of women's new role in wartime was their appearance in uniform. Numbers were small in the First World War, when the women's auxiliaries to the armed services were formed late in the war on a cautious and experimental basis. A few thousand women VADs (members of the Voluntary Aid Detachment of whom Vera Brittain and Winifred Holtby are now the most famous) took on domestic work and basic nursing at home and abroad, and from 1917 40,000 members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (the WAACs) were recruited. There were also smaller numbers in the Women's Royal Naval Service and the Women's Royal Air Force Service doing jobs such as cooking, cleaning, clerical work, driving and mechanical work to release men for the front. The authorities considered these modest beginnings to have been sufficiently useful to revive the idea of women in uniform in 1938 when the threat of war was once again looming. By 1943 there was a total of 450,000 women in the auxiliary forces, that is the Women's Royal Naval Service, the Women's Auxiliary Air Force and the Auxiliary Territorial Service.

In addition, in both wars, special steps were taken to recruit women to work on the land. In February 1916 the Women's Land Service Corps was founded. It was succeeded in 1917 by the uniformed Women's Land Army (WLA) which grew to a peak of 23,000 (1). In June 1939 the WLA was relaunched by the Ministry of Agriculture and at its height in 1943 there were 80,000 members.

There were also some women's uniformed organizations which were quite new in the Second World War. The small elite Air Transport Auxiliary was one. Women such as Amy Johnson, who had obtained pilot's licenses privately, flew planes from the workshops to the airfields. Much bigger organizations were also created to cope with the problems of civilian bombing, foreshadowed in the First World War by the Zeppelin raids of 1915-1918 in which over 1000 civilians were killed. There were expectations of a much higher death toll in the Second World War. As well as Civil Defence, to which 500,000 women were recruited, one million were involved as volunteers in the WVS, which was established under the shadow of the Munich crisis in 1938, as the Women's Voluntary Services for Air Raid Precautions.

One of the commonly held views of both wars is that they promoted social mixing among women. In fact educated middle-class women were a rarity in manual work in both wars. Even though munitions factories became quite fashionable for a small group of

middle- and upper-class women in the First World War, they were more likely to become nurses in the Voluntary Aid Detachments, Land Girls or voluntary policewomen. In the Second World War munitions work definitely had a lower class image, as did membership of the Auxiliary Territorial Service, apart from its specialist branches like the Anti-Aircraft Batteries. Whatever the reality, in the Second World War glamour, interest and excitement were associated with the Women's Auxiliary Air Force and the Women's Royal Naval Service, and a healthy, outdoor life with the Land Army.

Demobilization

The peace celebrations in 1918 and 1945 were followed by dramatic reductions in women's numbers in the more highly skilled and better paid areas of work, and increases in the numbers of women working in what were known as the 'female trades'. Because of changes in the industrial structure this meant slightly different things during and after each war. Within six months of the signing of the Armistice in 1918, half a million women were thrown out of work. Four years in an engineering workshop or an aircraft factory now counted for nothing. They were under pressure from Employment Exchanges and the Press to 'return' to jobs like laundry work and domestic service. Women were supposed to be naturally suited to domestic work, and if they would not take it their unemployment benefit was stopped. In general men, whether or not they were ex-servicemen, were considered to have a prior right to more interesting and better paid work. A Southampton girl who did a bakery delivery round (2) during the First World War summed up the dilemma as it was presented to her:

I cried when I had to come off the round. I didn't think it was fair, but of course men were coming home from the War and men wanted jobs. So to see a girl driving round with pony and cart wasn't in it.⁴

After the Second World War women were removed from the heavier and more skilled areas of industrial work where they had been regarded as temporary substitutes for men, but there were jobs for them in unskilled and semi-skilled sectors where they did things like machining and assembly at lower rates of pay. It certainly was not the case that women meekly 'went home' at the end of either war. In 1945 they protested against redundancy from war jobs, but success was limited because the unions and bosses had signed agreements to the effect that women were temporarily employed on 'men's work' for the duration of the war only. The case of Barbara Davies, an ex-weaver from Mytholmroyd in West Yorkshire, can stand for many. She wanted to stay in her war job at Armstrong Whitworth's aircraft factory in Coventry, but was helpless in the face of redundancy, as she describes:

At the end of the war, it was traumatic really, because as the jobs slowed down we were told that our services would be no longer needed. I went in on night shift one night and was told that I was made redundant and that my services were no longer needed. And as you can imagine this displeased me very much, so straight round to the union representative we went and we discussed the matter with him. And he said that the jobs were for the men coming out of the forces and that we had to leave the job for them. And I understood it perfectly, but I didn't approve. But no matter how we tried to pressure him, there was nothing that we could do at all. In fact I think really we were quite an embarrassment to him. It was all decided, and so we just had to leave the premises and that was that.⁵

In contrast, the wartime growth in numbers of



2: This Southampton girl had to give up driving the bread van shown here at the end of the First World War.

women in white collar work was sustained. The number of women clerks and typists in national and local government was 123,200 in 1939 and 518,990 in 1946, but even though women were kept on in white collar work they were usually forced to move back into the segregated slots they had occupied before the war. To add insult to injury they often had to train incoming ex-servicemen to take their places before retreating to the more routine jobs.

There were two main differences in women's employment prospects after the Second World War compared with the First. After 1945 women were not under the same pressure to 'return' to domestic service, as they had been after 1918, mainly because there was a shortage of industrial labour in many areas in the 1940s in contrast to the high levels of unemployment of the 1920s. From 1947, employment exchanges were pressing women to go into industry or institutional cleaning rather than the private domestic sector. In this context the private employer had to make do with daily helps and au pairs.

Another difference was that after the Second World War there was not the same pressure on older and married women to 'retire' from paid work that there had been after 1918. Again the labour shortage was largely responsible. In 1922 the government introduced a statutory marriage bar to public service under which women teachers, civil servants and other public employees had to resign on marriage unless their employers made a special case for them. This marriage bar was removed by legislation from teaching in 1944 and from the civil service in 1946. Part-time work, introduced to increase the supply of married women who could be persuaded to take up a limited amount of paid work in addition to housework, continued to expand after the Second World War. The liberating nature of part-time work for married women should not be exaggerated. The work was often the

most unpleasant available, which it was difficult to persuade full timers to do efficiently for a whole working day. Employers made savings on overheads like bonuses, holiday pay and insurance contributions and benefited from the high productivity and low absenteeism of part-time women workers. Even though part-time work for women was often exploitative, it did introduce a new element of independence into the lives of some older married women. A part-timer in the Second World War said of her four hours in a factory each day: 'You feel you've got out of the cage and you're free'.⁶

Personal experiences of change: work

The argument so far has been that the reversals in many areas of employment after each war indicate that neither war can be seen as the harbinger of enduring gains for women, in the sense of building permanent bridges across the divide between men's and women's work. The lasting changes mainly involved expansion within sectors stereotyped as 'women's work' and paid as such, whether industrial or white collar. But even if employment opportunities were not permanently transformed, women in both wars felt that something special was happening to them. It was not necessarily always positive.

The aspects of work which women liked best in both wars were the money and the company. Cases where women received equal pay with men were rare, in spite of agreements between unions and employers in each war, stating that they ought to receive it when they replaced a man. However, women's wages were often much higher in war trades than in peacetime women's work, especially domestic service. For example, before the First World War Lily Truphet was a housemaid who earned five shillings a week working for an employer who used to weigh the vacuum cleaner bag to see if she had done a good enough job. With relief, she and others like her found jobs in

government ordnance factories during the war. One woman who earned £3 a week in the Southampton rolling mills recalled, 'we thought we were the richest people in Southampton'.⁷ There were similar expressions of delight with the wages in the Second World War. For example, Mona Marshall left a job as a nurse-maid in Lincoln on 10 shillings a week in 1941, to make shells in a Sheffield steelworks:

I always remember the first wage that I earned ... was two pounds, two shillings and two pence. That was my first week's wage and I thought I'd got the earth.⁸

All the same, not all women remained content when they discovered how much more the men they were replacing earned. In both wars there are cases of individual women fighting for, and obtaining, the 'rate for the job' in skilled engineering work, often in the teeth of opposition from fellow male workers, who tended to be sceptical about women's competence and did not feel that a woman had the same right to the full rate as a male breadwinner. Such men sometimes expressed their displeasure about the appearance of women in wartime factories in quite unpleasant ways. For instance, one woman engineering worker in the First World War described how her drawer was nailed up one night and oil poured over everything in it through a crack. A

3: Agnes McLean (front row, second from left) and fellow workers at Hillington aero-engine factory, Glasgow, c.1943.



woman at a Birmingham engineering works in 1942 described how night shift men loosened all the nuts on the lathe she worked during the day before they knocked off, in protest against her using it. Male resentment was heightened in both wars by the possibility that, as more women came in, more men would have to leave for the army.

However, when men felt that their own long-term security was threatened they sometimes supported women's claims for equal pay. This happened in transport in the First World War. Women were highly satisfactory bus and tram conductors and employers were keen to keep them on if they were cheaper to employ than men, but not if they had to pay them as much. Knowing this, the male-dominated transport unions supported women transport workers' strike for equal war bonus in August 1918. It was worth helping to achieve equality during the war, to ensure that men would have the jobs afterwards.

In the Second World War, similar situations arose in engineering. Agnes McLean and fellow workers at the Hillington aero-engine factory near Glasgow were making Rolls-Royce Merlin aircraft engines. They were pleased to be earning more than they had earned before the war in Glasgow industries like textiles, printing and bookbinding, but they got fed up when they discovered that men doing the same jobs as themselves, who were as new to engineering as they were, earned 30 shillings more. After inconclusive union negotiations Agnes and the other women walked out of the factory in the autumn of 1943, unsure whether they would get any support from the men or not. Rotten eggs and tomatoes were thrown at them in the street, with taunts that they were letting the country down. However as they stood shivering and uncertain in a local park the men from the factory appeared *en masse* to support them (3). Agnes, who became a shop steward through this experience, explained why the men joined them:

Once the men realised first of all it was injustice being done to women being paid less than the rate for the job and secondly they were being used for cheap labour and therefore a danger to the men ... the men were absolutely fantastic.⁹

The Hillington women did eventually get a rise as a result of a new grading scheme introduced after the strike, but it by no means represented equal pay. In both wars employers were at pains to avoid equal pay by claiming that the work had been simplified so that women could do it, and that it should therefore be classified as 'women's work' of the sort that women had typically done, albeit in smaller numbers, before the war. Employers were more successful in this than workers were in opposing it. At the end of the Second World War, women in industry earned on average only 53 per cent of men's earnings.

Personal experiences of change: private life

Reference has already been made to the married woman part-timer who said she felt as though she had 'got out of the cage' in the Second World War. Exactly the same expression was used by Lilian Miles, a West Country woman who went up to Coventry looking for war work in the First World War. Even though she was disappointed with the wages, found the work dangerous and abhorred the war as such, Lilian said of her wartime experiences as a whole, 'It was like being let out of a cage'.¹⁰ What did such women mean?

One aspect was simply that of feeling freer to be



4: Hetty Fowler and her husband, c. 1945. Her marriage survived the strains of war.

themselves. This is nicely depicted by Annie Edwards' memories of her discovery in the summer of 1916 of just how hot and uncomfortable corsets could be, and her decision to liberate herself from them:

when I put the horses in the stable at 12 o'clock I went up in the cake loft and I took them [her corsets] off. And close to the farm there was an outside lavatory, you know, where they was emptied every third year or something. They put it on the land for manure. Well, I went and folded them and took them there. And from that day to this I never wore anything at all.¹¹

More commonly, women refer to the new sense of self they got from discovering that they could do things they never thought possible, like controlling barrage balloons, mending aircraft, welding, or crane driving. Ploughing, milking, felling trees and other work on the land also presented enormous challenges. Some women left home for the first time, and felt the satisfaction of being independent of their families. It meant they could develop new friendships and mix in less closely supervised ways with members of the opposite sex.

This could have a disturbing effect, especially given the presence of so many married women in war work and so many soldiers in camps all over the country. Hetty Fowler's experience as a married woman in her thirties of leaving a home-bound existence for the Ambulance Service in Hull is perhaps representative. Her husband was in the National Fire Service and since they worked opposite shifts they saw little of each other. She was stationed near a soldiers' camp.

Every week they had a dance and the officer in charge used to ring up to our station officer to borrow some females to dance with these soldiers ... I was just an ordinary wife and mother. But when you come out of your house and get among people, you're dancing with men, he thinks you're rather nice and you

think well perhaps I am, but nobody's told me for years and you rather like it. ... It was nice that someone thought you were attractive. So of course when you got back with your husband he didn't think I was any more attractive, we were just the same — and it's not easy to take.¹²

Hetty's marriage continued but others collapsed(4). In fact the divorce rate rose from 1.5 to 3.6 per 10,000 of the English population between 1938 and 1945, with a rise to 13.6 to follow in 1947. This was much more dramatic than the changes during the First World War, when the divorce rate was stable during the war and rose between 1918 and 1920 only from 0.2 to 0.8 per 10,000 of the population.

Did this signpost a collapse of morals, particularly in the Second World War? The divorce statistics do not provide conclusive evidence. Divorce was hard to obtain in the First World War. A wife's adultery constituted grounds, but not a husband's, until an Act in 1923, and only in 1937 did insanity, cruelty and desertion become grounds for divorce. The legal changes meant that in the Second World War hasty marriages early in the war could more easily be dissolved than they could in the First. The Forces' Welfare Services also helped, making it possible for servicemen and women to obtain divorces more cheaply and expeditiously than civilians. Morale was felt to depend on it.

All the same, in both wars, the rising divorce rate was seen as an indicator of the imminent collapse of the sanctity of marriage, and charges of immorality were flung at women. In the First World War there was even surveillance of servicemen's wives. If they were found to be drunk or engaging in 'irregular conduct' their army separation allowances were stopped. Any woman on the streets of a garrison town in the evening was under suspicion of being a prostitute, and in some towns women were subjected to a curfew patrolled by the new women police. The Victorian double standard of morality was embedded in these measures. Men were not subject to such controls. It seems, however, that many of the allegations were exaggerated. A Commission of Enquiry set up to look into the morality of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps in 1918 reported, 'We can find no justification of any kind for the vague accusations of immoral conduct on a large scale which have been circulated about the WAAC'.¹³ However the image that the WAAC were the 'ground sheet of the army' plagued its ex-members between the wars and added to the difficulties of recruitment to the ATS in the Second World War.

Apparently setting the seal on the notion of a collapse of morals during the First World War, the illegitimacy rate appeared to have risen dramatically. The number of illegitimate children per 1000 births rose by 30 per cent. However, this statistic is misleading on its own. The birthrate fell during the war, so fewer women actually gave birth to illegitimate children, even though unmarried mothers were now a higher proportion of all mothers. In the Second World War there was again much talk of women's immorality. This time the number of illegitimate children per 1000 births more than doubled. Again, on careful scrutiny, the figures do not mean quite what they appear to mean. Before the war, one in three mothers conceived their first child out of wedlock, but 70 per cent of these mothers married before the birth of the baby. During the war this proportion fell to only 37 per cent. This was presumably the result of large-scale mobilisation during the war which had the effect not only of throwing couples together but also of separating them abruptly (and of course contributed to the rising divorce rate).

It is striking that responsibility for the rise of illegitimacy (and also for that of divorce, abortion and VD) tended to be placed at women's door. The experiences recounted by women in the Second World War in fact suggest that men could be very pressing. Tram and bus conductresses got used to dealing with passengers who tried to 'get fresh', though isolation could increase the problem. Land girls working on isolated farms could find the advances of their bosses hard to cope with, and some young women reported their dread of being alone in railway carriages with servicemen. In the run up to D-Day (the allied invasion of Europe in June 1944) there were numerous servicemen about. One and a half million Allied, Dominion and Colonial troops were stationed in the UK in addition to a proportion of the total of 4.5 million British troops. Valerie Moss, a land girl in Devon, remembers that making up a party with servicemen from a nearby camp could be risky. Americans were bad enough:

The really dangerous ones, though, were the Poles! You didn't go anywhere by yourself with the Poles if you could help it. They were very pleasant and terribly chivalrous and glamorous, full of gold teeth and braid and all the rest of it, but all they wanted to do was get you behind a hedge.¹⁴

Possibly the absence from Britain of so many servicemen at the Front during 1914-18 compared with the presence of so many in camps all over Britain throughout 1939-45 made the biggest difference to the pattern of illegitimacy in the two wars.

Marriage, it must be emphasised, remained popular, in spite of the greater independence that women had discovered for themselves. Indeed, young women may have felt freer in their choice of marriage partner during the wars, in that they had new opportunities to find partners for themselves rather than through their families. For example, for Marjorie Wardle, staying in the WRNS and marrying Victor Smith while they were both in Ceylon in July 1945 was preferable to returning to her middle-class home in Lancashire to be the 'daughter of the house'. At the beginning and end of both wars there was a rash of 'khaki' weddings, while in the middle there was something of a slump, as if the advent of both war and peace stimulated marriage whereas war itself limited nuptial opportunities. At the end of both wars there were numerous couples who were keen to get together and set up home after the disruption of war. Yet there is evidence that women who had discovered that they could 'stand on their own feet' through their war work expected something other than conventional domesticity. On the one hand, surveys undertaken at the end of the Second World War show that a majority of married women workers either wanted to continue in paid work or were undecided; on the other, some women's personal testimony indicates a desire to alter the style of marriage to which they, or their mothers, had been accustomed before the Second World War. For instance, a wartime conductress, Zelma Katin, was keen to give up her job on the Sheffield buses, but was determined to rope her husband into household tasks like dishwashing so that she could lead a more interesting life than before and not be 'caged up separately' in her specialist sphere of housewifery.¹⁵ The extent of the rise of the kind of 'companionate' marriage she envisaged is probably impossible to quantify, but even if it was not universal and did not

mean complete equality between the sexes, it was a style to which the stress under which war placed marriage made a contribution.


In conclusion, though many women have lasting memories of the wars as turning points in their lives, there was an undertow pulling them back. The more radical changes at work were emphatically temporary. In each war there was an expansion followed by a contraction of new types of work for women, while both saw a permanent increase in the numbers of jobs labelled 'women's work'. The vote, granted only to women householders and graduates over 30 in 1918, could be seen as compensation for what women were about to lose rather than as a reward for what they had done. Equal pay was not endorsed by the Royal Commission, which reported in 1946. Empowered merely to 'examine', 'consider' and 'report', it went no further than to suggest that equal pay might be appropriate for some workers in the common classes of the civil service. Even this cautious recommendation foundered on the rocks of the post-war Labour Government's wage freeze. Women got a great deal out of their participation personally, in terms of the satisfaction of 'doing their bit', earning their own wage (however small) and making new friends. Yet, although after the Second World War more older married women went out to work, and though some were keen to try to breach the divide between the conventional roles of men and women in marriage, the independence and self confidence acquired in wartime through the status and/or pay attached to war work could evaporate in the peacetime context of domesticity, routine work and low pay. The problem pages of women's magazines in the late 1940s were full of letters from women who found the adjustment from war to peace harder than they had expected. Many felt that they had been 'let out of the cage' only on sufferance.

NOTES

- 1 For a fuller account the reader should see Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (1987), from which much of what follows is drawn.
- 2 Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change, 1900-1967* (1968).
- 3 For example P. Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War* (1984); H. Smith, 'The Effect of War on the Status of Women' in H.L. Smith (ed.) *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War* (1986); G. Braybon and P. Summerfield, op. cit.; P. Summerfield, 'Women, War and Social Change: Women in Britain in World War II' in A. Marwick, *Total War and Social Change* (1988).
- 4 Southampton City Museum, Education Service, oral history project on Women's Work in the First World War.
- 5 Thames Television/Channel 4, 'A People's War' Interview Transcript, (hereafter Thames TV Transcript) Barbara Davies.
- 6 Mass-Observation, *The Journey Home* (1944), p.58.
- 7 Southampton Museum oral history project, Mrs Mullins.
- 8 Thames TV Transcript, Mona Marshall.
- 9 Thames TV Transcript, Agnes McLean.
- 10 Imperial War Museum War Work Tapes, Lilian Miles, 000854/04.
- 11 *Ibid.*, Annie Edwards, 000740/15.
- 12 Thames TV Transcript, Hetty Fowler.
- 13 Quoted by Arthur Marwick, *Women at War 1914-1918* (1977), p.125.
- 14 P. Schweitzer, L. Hilton, J. Moss (Age Exchange Theatre Trust) (eds.), *What Did You Do in the War, Mum?* (Age Exchange, 1985), p.8.
- 15 Zelma Katin, *Clippie* (1944), pp.49 and 123.

President's page

JUST VISITING



Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary from 1905 to 1916, was sometimes accused by his critics of too great a partiality for rod and line. It was suggested that visitors to the Foreign Office might find that the sign upon his door said 'Gone Fishing'. It was possible that he might be discovered on the Hampshire Itchen or in the North of Scotland. It was virtually certain that he would not be found undertaking anything so exotic as a visit to a foreign country. Nowadays, however, the Foreign Secretary seems to be always travelling. He has his regular engagements in Europe and Washington but he can often be found in the Gulf, East Asia, or elsewhere. The Prime Minister is even more peripatetic. On the eve of the recent visit of President Gorbachev, she fitted in a relaxing trip through Africa from Morocco to Zimbabwe. Other Cabinet members, too, cannot resist the temptation to pay a call on their 'counterparts' to discuss 'matters of mutual interest'. Join the Cabinet and see the world!

At the beginning of the century, visits were far less common, though the signs of growth were already evident. King Edward VII went to Paris and President Loubet came to London, both in the interests of the 1904 Anglo-French entente. George V, as King-Emperor, disappeared to India where he looked a little uncomfortable high up on an elephant. It came to be commonplace that the royal family could look forward to a life of increased travel. However, this was not a matter of personal whim. Visits took place because governments wanted them to take place. In 1939, for example, George VI and Queen Elizabeth were despatched to the United States — the first such visit by a reigning monarch — with the deliberate purpose of encouraging a pro-British atmosphere on the eve of war. It was Neville Chamberlain who became the first Prime Minister to make a visit into a drama. His decision to fly to Germany himself and meet Hitler face to face caught the public imagination. During the Second World War, Churchill embarked on various somewhat precarious journeys, from Canada to the Crimea. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin had to engage in 'personal diplomacy'. The increased speed and comfort of air travel in the decades since 1945 has meant that the urge to travel has been irresistible. It is a major task to find the appropriate space in diaries for all the visits to be fitted in. We are told that a British royal visit to the Soviet Union cannot be swiftly arranged because the Queen has been 'booked up' for some considerable period hence. This is not just a matter of 'have ticket, will travel'.

In the nineteenth century, of course, individual emissaries or ambassadors in distant countries could still have considerable freedom of action. Their political masters could not fly in to oversee proceedings. It is instructive, for example, to examine the role exercised in China and Japan in 1858 by Lord Elgin as recounted by Sydney Checkland. Official Chinese reports described Elgin as the 'Uncontrollably Fierce Barbarian' and certainly, in his negotiations with

Chinese plenipotentiaries, he made sure that he was not alone. He had a guard of 150 men and a band of HMS *Calcutta*. When he turned his attention to Japan, he was surprised to learn that communication with the Japanese was only possible in Dutch. The Japanese wondered whether the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine was one person or two. However, a treaty was eventually concluded. Naturally, it was appropriate to make a presentation and Elgin thoughtfully handed over a steam yacht. This was of doubtful utility since neither the Emperor nor the Shogun left their respective palaces. 'One might as well request the Pope's acceptance of a wife' was one contemporary observation.

After the First World War, diplomats had to begin to adjust themselves to new roles and responsibilities. Of course, there were critics both within and outside the Foreign Office who were hostile to the intrusion represented by the political visit. It was absurd that politicians should fly to foreign countries and enter into direct talks within hours of arrival. There were, on this view, great dangers in visits. Would it not have been better if Neville Chamberlain had stayed at home and negotiated at a distance through the existing diplomatic channels? Yet, whatever the validity of this contention concerning 1938, it was not possible in the future to keep the travelling politician out. The visit had come to stay.

It is in such a context that we should consider the recent arrival of President Gorbachev. Visits have the character of sacraments. They are the outward and visible signs of a deeper reality. In the case of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union it has been a relationship which has been through many vicissitudes over the decades. We appear now, however, to be on the verge of a level of mutual understanding which is without precedent. Stalin never came to Britain. Indeed, he was not a great visitor anywhere. The appearance of Khrushchev and Bulganin in Britain was scarcely a success. It appeared to demonstrate that visits in themselves do not improve relationships between states. To assess Gorbachev's visit properly we have to understand that it functioned at a variety of levels and was aimed at a variety of audiences or viewers. Historians have therefore to consider the different elements in the public programme and seek to relate them to their understanding of the underlying diplomatic developments. We have to be aware of the various levels of interaction in all such encounters. The 'choreography' or 'orchestration' of the arrangements can often be historically significant.

Of course, it is necessary to be cautious about the importance of the personal relationship between the British Prime Minister and President Gorbachev. Politicians cannot grasp the full character of the country they are visiting in such a fleeting fashion, but they can form impressions which they cannot gain in any other way. Those impressions may be misleading, and of course they need to be supplemented by other sources of information, but in the contemporary world they appear to be essential. A visit should therefore not be dismissed cynically. It is not surprising that a state visit by the Queen to the Soviet Union necessarily requires the most careful planning, for there are symbolic issues for both sides which will need to be sorted out in advance. The signs and signals given out during the course of a visit are indeed only one aspect of the entire diplomatic enterprise, but they also contain meanings which it is the responsibility of the contemporary historian to decipher and interpret.

Keith Robbins

MODERN INDIA Imperialism and Nationalism c1880-1947

Judith M. Brown, *Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of Manchester*, surveys the principal publications of the past decade.

A wealth of writing on modern India appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s, mostly in monographs or specialist journals. It originated in the opening of much new official and private source material in the 1960s, and in the emergence of a younger generation of scholars, freed from the ideological constraints on their predecessors either to justify the British *raj* or to perpetuate a simplistic mythology of nationalism. Inevitably, the major themes of research and debate were the nature of empire and of the nationalist movement in India, and the interaction of these mirror-like forces. Of particular concern were the role of empire in triggering and shaping nationalism, and the contribution of the latter in undermining the *raj*. The weight of this literature must threaten to overwhelm many teachers and students, but there are now available reliable scholarly introductions which assume little prior knowledge of India. The second edition of S.A. Wolpert, *A New History of India* (Oxford University Press, 1982) is the broadest, chronologically, sweeping from the dawn of civilization on the subcontinent to c. 1980. Narrower and therefore more helpful on modern India are S. Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (Macmillan, 1987) and Judith M. Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 1985). Available soon, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), with specialist articles, bibliographies, maps and tables, will be a major reference work. Taking a broadly economic approach *The Cambridge Economic History of India: Volume 2: c.1757-c.1970* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), ed. D. Kumar, is invaluable.

In contrast to the popular concept of India as 'the brightest jewel' in the imperial crown, modern scholarship lays bare the unromantic, calculating, often harsh realities of the enterprise of the British *raj*. B.R. Tomlinson has done most to unravel the real worth of India to Britain: his *The Political Economy of The Raj 1914-1947: The Economics of Decolonization* (Macmillan, 1979) fleshes out ideas floated in his two seminal articles in the *Indian Economic and Social*

History Review (1975-6). India was expected to be the lynchpin of Britain's position as a world power: it was a subservient trading partner whose exports helped to balance Britain's world wide trading book, a land for investment, a strategic base for broad ranging imperial manoeuvres, and the provider of an army which could be used at Britain's behest outside India, without cost to the British tax-payer. Yet in the twentieth century India was decreasingly able or willing to fulfill these expectations. Her primary export trade, for example, was badly hit during the depression, and changes in the British and world economies weakened imperial trading and investment links with India. The constraints of Indian politics made Delhi increasingly answerable to an Indian electorate rather than to Whitehall. So from the 1920s India gained tariff protection for her own interests; in the 1930s she began to control her own currency and exchange policy, and it was recognized that she could not be expected to pay for the actions of her army beyond her borders — see K. Jeffrey, 'An English Barrack in the Oriental Seas?' India in the Aftermath of the First World War', *Modern Asian Studies*, 15, 3, (1981). By 1947 the losses seemed greater than the profits in the imperial ledger.

The idea of India's declining worth to Britain dovetails with the prevailing view of the *raj* as an essentially political enterprise — one which became both unworkable and unproductive after the Second World War. Within India the British had limited force at their disposal: successful rule depended on balancing force with a broad ranging system of informal and formal alliances. D.A. Low discusses this in the introduction and his own essay on the *raj* and the 1930-34 civil disobedience movement in Low (ed.), *Congress And The Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917-47* (Heinemann, 1977). R.E. Frykenberg shows the *raj* at its fiercest in 'The Last Emergency of the Raj', in H.C. Hart (ed.), *Indira Gandhi's India: A Political System Reappraised* (Westview Press, 1976), while Judith M. Brown discusses its many vulnerabilities 'Imperial Facade: Some Constraints Upon and Contradictions in the British Position in India, 1919-35', *TRHS*, 5th Series, Vol. 26 (1976). Those whose active cooperation was essential to the *raj* have received consideration, for example, in T.R. Metcalf, *Land, Landlords and the British Raj: Northern India in the Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1979). D. Page, *Prelude to Partition: the Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-1932* (Oxford University Press, 1982) discusses the distinctive place of Muslims in the British understanding of India: that community's future political orientation would be crucial for the viability of the *raj* and of an independent, united Indian nation. India's Princes, who ruled one-third of the subcontinent, have belatedly attracted study. Their strength as allies of the British became increasingly suspect as the politics of the States and the Congress became intertwined. In 1930-31 they had briefly appeared as a conservative buttress of imperialism in a future continental federation with dominion status: thereafter they became an embarrassment as the British strove to wind up their *raj*. (J. Manor, *Political Change in an Indian State. Mysore 1917-1953* (Manohar, 1977); R. Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power. Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States* (Oxford University Press, 1978); B. Ramusack, *The Princes of India in the Twilight of Empire: Dissolution of a Patron-Client System, 1914-1939* (Ohio State University Press, 1978); I. Copland, *The British Raj and the Indian Princes: Paramountcy in Western India, 1857-1930* (Orient Longman, 1982)). It has long been known that of the actual instruments of the *raj*, the police were the weakest link: this is amply demonstrated by D. Arnold: 'The Police and Colonial Control in South India, 1890-1947', *Social Scientist*, no. 48 (1976); 'The Armed Police and Colonial Rule in South India, 1914-1947', *Modern Asian Studies*, 11, 1 (1977); *Police Power and Colonial Rule. Madras 1859-1947* (Oxford University Press, 1986). Considerably more is now known about the weakening of the ICS, the imperial 'steel frame', as it experienced problems of recruiting Europeans and the politically necessary process of Indianization. See T.H. Beaglehole, 'From Rulers to Servants: The ICS and the British Demission of Power in India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 11, 2 (1977); D.C. Potter, 'Manpower Shortage and the End

of Colonialism: The Case of the Indian Civil Service', *Modern Asian Studies*, 7, 1 (1975); and his far wider study of the shaping of imperial administrators and their heirs, *India's Political Administrators 1919-1983* (Oxford University Press, 1987). More traditionally, there is R. Hunt and J. Harrison, *The District Officer in India, 1930-1947* (Scolar Press, 1980), based on recollections of 70 ICS men. The evidence of individuals committed to India somewhat offsets the instrumental approach to empire prevalent in modern scholarship: another dimension to the 'ideology' pervading an essentially pragmatic enterprise is added by K. Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980). Studies of imperial policy-making, the attempts to re-stabilize the *raj* with successive constitutional reforms providing for British disengagement from lower levels of politics and decision-making, which culminated in the total transfer of power are P.G. Robb, *The Government of India and Reform: Policies towards Politics and the Constitution 1916-1921* (Oxford University Press, 1976); and R.J. Moore's 'The problem of freedom with unity: London's India Policy, 1917-1947', in Low (ed.), *Congress and the Raj; Churchill, Cripps and India, 1939-1945* (Clarendon Press, 1979); *Escape from Empire: The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem* (Clarendon Press, 1983). Noteworthy is Part 3 of P. Ziegler, *Mountbatten: The Official Biography* (Collins, 1985). To non-specialists the 12 massive volumes in the series of official documents edited by N. Mansergh, *India: The Transfer of Power 1942-7* (HMSO, 1970-83) may seem overpowering but they are in fact easy to use because of superb editing which includes indices, 'chaptering' of documents by topic within each chronological volume, and excellent introductions to each volume.

If study of the *raj* suggests its vulnerability in the face of Indian and world-wide economic and political change, modern scholarship has also rent apart any idea of a monolithic, mass nationalist movement capable of forcing the British to quit India. As D.A. Low has made clear in his introduction to *Congress and the Raj*, the British won every direct confrontation with the Indian National Congress. The end of empire was a complex phenomenon without a single cause. The declining worth of India to Britain, the growing strength of nationalist feeling, the erosion of British ability to manipulate India to deliver what Britain needed, the weakening of the instruments and alliances of the *raj*, and shifts in public opinion in Britain and the USA as Britain's crucial war-time ally, were intertwined in bringing an end to the *raj*.

What then was the nature of nationalism and nationalist politics on the subcontinent? Inevitably a major focus of study has been the Congress which claimed to speak for the Indian nation. Interpretation has swung away from seeing it as the playground and voice of the English educated, though inevitably they dominated its early days because they were the only ones who spoke a common language, could afford to attend its annual sessions, and had the experience to interpret affairs in all-India terms. But they retained ties of kin and patronage binding them to more traditional sectors of Indian society, and often acquired allies from a broader social swathe than their immediate circle on specific issues. Outstanding on this early phase is J.R. McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (Princeton University Press, 1977), which shows the self-imposed limits on Congress work and appeal adopted in the search for all-India unity. Complementing it from a local perspective is C.A. Bayly's ground-breaking study, *The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad 1880-1920* (Clarendon Press, 1975). The complexities of Congress as an all-India organization, yet having roots in and relations with local and provincial politics, have been tackled in different ways. B.R. Tomlinson took a continental vantage point and examined the interplay of the all-India leadership with provincial groups of Congressmen: *The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942* (Macmillan, 1979). Three important collections of essays also start from the all-India high ground and survey aspects of Congress leadership, organization and relations with different groups and regions: Low (ed.), *Congress and the Raj* (in which M. Harcourt's work on the

1942 disturbances in Bihar should receive special note as it is otherwise unpublished); J. Masselos (ed.), *Struggling and Ruling: The Indian National Congress 1885-1985* (Oriental University Press, 1987); R. Sisson and S. Wolpert (eds.), *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase* (University of California Press, 1988). Some of the facets of Congress's interactions with India's complex and regionally divided society are treated at length in monographs. Specifically on the provincial milieu of Congressmen, and undergirding the theme of the problems of dovetailing provincial and continental politics in a professedly 'national' movement are: D.A. Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency 1870-1920* (Cambridge University Press, 1976); C.J. Baker, *The Politics of South India 1920-1937* (Cambridge University Press, 1976); D. Arnold, *The Congress in Tamilnad: Nationalist Politics in South India, 1919-37* (Curzon Press, 1977); G. Pandey, *The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh 1926-34: A Study in Imperfect Mobilization* (Oxford University Press, 1978); D.E.U. Baker, *Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province: The Central Provinces and Berar 1919-39* (Oxford University Press, 1979). Studies focussing primarily on local men, their political perceptions and actions, rather than on their connections with Congress are Rajat Ray, *Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups and Conflict of Interests in Calcutta City Politics, 1875-1939* (Vikas, 1979), and D. Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District 1917-1934* (Oxford University Press, 1981).

Congress's relations with specific social and economic groups whose response to the ideals of nationalism and the attempt to contrive an all-India response to the *raj* were to prove particularly significant have also been clarified. There are now studies of the ambiguous relations of businessmen with the politicians who would be their future rulers but whose agitational tactics could be so disruptive: A.D. Gordon, *Businessmen and Politics: Rising Nationalism and a Modernizing Economy in Bombay, 1918-1933* (Manohar, 1978); C. Markovits, 'Indian Business and the Congress Provincial Governments 1937-39', *Modern Asian Studies*, 15, 3 (1981), and *Indian Business and Nationalist Politics 1931-39: The indigenous capitalist class and the rise of the Congress Party* (Cambridge University Press, 1985). Far more fraught (and difficult to discern because access to documents relating to M.A. Jinnah and the Muslim League has only recently been possible) was Congress's relationship with India's diverse Muslim community. The early phase of agitational cooperation between Congress and a broad range of Muslims on the Khilafat issue (G. Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: religious symbolism and political modernization in India* (Columbia University Press, 1982)) soon cracked apart, leaving only a tiny handful of 'nationalist' Muslims yoked to Congress, which needed them to 'prove' its national standing, but found them an ineffectual tool with which to solve the problems of Muslim political identity and suspicion. See B.D. Metcalf, 'Nationalist Muslims in British India: The Case of Hakim Ajmal Khan', *Modern Asian Studies*, 19, 1 (1985); M. Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928* (Manohar, 1979); *A Nationalist Conscience: M.A. Ansari, the Congress and the Raj* (Manohar, 1987); and 'Congress Muslims' and Indian Nationalism: Dilemma and Decline, 1928-1934', in Masselos (ed.), *Struggling and Ruling*. Hasan also studies Congress's failure to attract any broad Muslim support, in Sisson and Wolpert (eds.), *Congress and Indian Nationalism*. The crucial question is how to explain the rise of Jinnah and the Muslim League as spokesman and organization of a continental Muslim strategy of separate nationality, when for years more realistic and profitable provincial options had pulled Indian Muslims apart. On the Punjab provincial strategy see A. Jalal and A. Seal,

'Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics Between the Wars', *Modern Asian Studies*, 15, 3 (1981). Jalal follows this up with her closely argued and important interpretation of Jinnah and his Pakistan strategy, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 1983) which draws on the papers of Jinnah and the League. This should be read alongside A.I. Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India 1936-1947* (Oxford University Press, 1987). Jalal discounts Islam as the driving power behind Jinnah and the gathering movement for a separate state of Pakistan: for Jinnah it was a carefully vague bargaining counter to use in relation to the Muslim majority provinces, Congress and the raj. However, this is not the whole story. Religious leaderships and ideology became increasingly significant in the generation of wider support and the eventual if reluctant alignment with the League of politicians in the Muslim majority provinces. See D. Gilmartin, 'Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab', *Modern Asian Studies*, 13, 3 (1979); I. Talbot, 'The 1946 Punjab Elections', *Modern Asian Studies*, 14, 1 (1980), 'The Growth of the Muslim League in the Punjab, 1937-1946', *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 20, 1 (1982), and *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47* (Oxford University Press, 1988).

In contrast to recent, still somewhat speculative, understanding of Jinnah, the towering Congress leaders are much more accessible. By far the best brief introduction to M.K. Gandhi is A. Copley's Historical Association booklet, *Gandhi: Against the Tide* (Blackwell, 1987). Judith M. Brown has continued detailed studies of the realities of Gandhi's leadership in contrast to any simplistic notion of 'charisma' in *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics 1928-34* (Cambridge University Press, 1977), in articles in B.N. Pandey (ed.), *Leadership in South Asia* (Vikas, 1977), Low (ed.), *Congress and the Raj*, and Sisson and Wolpert (eds.), *Congress and Indian Nationalism*. Her biography of Gandhi, appearing late 1989, is designed for the general rather than the specialist reader. G. Richards' brief but good introduction to Gandhi's basic ideas deserves to be better known: *The Philosophy of Gandhi* (Curzon Press, 1982). M. Chatterjee's *Gandhi's Religious Thought* (Macmillan, 1983) is subtle and sensitive, giving particular insights into Gandhi's place in the Indian religious context. R. Iyer, well known for his work on Gandhi, has now edited a brilliant three volume collection of documents, *The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* (Clarendon, 1986-7). S. Gopal's official biography of J. Nehru is now complete: *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (1975-84, Jonathan Cape). A convenient collection of documents is that edited by B.N. Pandey, *The Indian Nationalist Movement, 1885-1947: Select Documents* (Macmillan, 1979).

Such a range of original work has underlined the complexities and ambiguities of what was once interpreted as a classic liberal nationalist movement which eventually generated mass support. The diverse and changing regional and social origins of those involved to differing degrees with Congress and its politics are now clearer, as are the tensions which were inherent in Congress, particularly those which erupted between men from different regions, from different levels of politics and from competing factions. We can discern the almost insoluble conflict between all-India and regional politics, besetting the Muslim League as much as Congress, for example the case of Bengal. Further, we begin to grasp the differing and often fragile links which bound local politics and a national movement, particularly when the former generated material for agitational confrontation and the latter suggested the wisdom of cooperation with the raj, or *vice versa*. It is hardly surprising that the different ways historians have handled and interpreted this material have generated considerable academic controversy. Some would see as the historiographical villains a so-called 'Cambridge School'. These are typified by the approach taken in C. Baker, G. Johnson and A. Seal (eds.), *Power, Profit and Politics: Essays on Imperialism, Nationalism and Change in Twentieth-Century India* (Cambridge University Press,

1981), a reprint of *Modern Asian Studies*, 15, 3 (1981), in the same format as J. Gallagher, G. Johnson and A. Seal (eds.), *Locality, Province and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics 1870-1944* (Cambridge University Press, 1973), a reprint of *Modern Asian Studies*, 7, 3 (1973), in which A. Seal's 'Imperialism and Nationalism in India' put clearly some of the main tenets of this approach. At issue is the nature of politics and the role of ideology: to what extent can the politics of the subcontinent be interpreted in terms of struggles for power, particularly between elites and their factions, in a somewhat Namienite tradition, or did a genuine vision of and identification with a free India infuse and bind the political activists? Further controversy follows on the role of the raj: in particular its part in eliciting and encouraging new styles of competitive politics, and the extent to which its reforms and expectations shaped political arenas and identities. To a considerable extent this idea of a 'Cambridge School' is an Aunt Sally. Few historians remain static in their approach, and it is unrealistic to classify people according to their PhD location or supervisor! In contrast some historians have identified themselves as opponents of this broad approach, calling themselves the 'Subaltern School', rejecting concentration on the high politics of nationalism and imperialism alike and striving to allow the lowliest and deprived to speak for themselves. This genre is clearest in the *Subaltern Studies* series, edited by R. Guha (Oxford University Press). They contain some innovative and illuminating writing — as, for example, S. Amin's essay on what being perceived as a Mahatma really meant in relation to Gandhi in one specific district: in Volume 3 (Oxford University Press, 1984). Adopting the same 'approach from below' is the fascinating collection edited by A.A. Yang, *Crime and Criminality in British India* (University of Arizona Press, 1985). Historical understanding of the nature of India's society and public life, and the problems of its unification and governance will be the deeper for a combination of these different approaches rather than a false confrontation: both indicate partial aspects of the total reality of imperialism and nationalism on the subcontinent.

Increasingly some historians are moving from attempts at total explanations of large and complex movements and changes, and are trying to understand more deeply in restricted contexts the nature of Indian society and economy, and the extent to which the pressure of an imperial presence began to wreak or trigger genuine change. R. O'Hanlon grapples brilliantly with problems of low caste ideology and organization in *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India* (Cambridge University Press, 1985). Others have focussed on the variable and unpredictable patterns of interaction between imperial intention and Indian economic and social reality. N. Charlesworth, *British Rule and the Indian Economy 1800-1914* (Macmillan, 1982) is a concise introductory text, and a warning to students who look for any clear economic 'impact' of imperial rule on India. The same theme pervades two valuable collections: C. Dewey and A.G. Hopkins (eds.) *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the economic history of Africa and India* (Athlone Press, 1978), and C. Dewey and K.N. Chaudhuri (eds.), *Economy and Society: Studies in Indian Economic and Social History* (Oxford University Press, 1979). Taking specific areas as their focus are C.J. Baker's 'Colonial Rule and the Internal Economy in Twentieth-Century Madras' in *Power, Profit and Politics*, and his *An Indian Rural Economy 1880-1955: The Tamilnad Countryside* (Clarendon, 1984); I. Stone, *Canal Irrigation in British India: Perspectives on technological change in a peasant economy* (Cambridge University Press, 1984); N. Charlesworth, *Peasants and Imperial Rule: Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850-1935* (Cambridge University Press, 1985); S. Bose, *Agrarian Bengal: Economy, Social structure and politics, 1919-1947* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

A decade's scholarship has produced varied, possibly daunting material. But without it historians cannot understand either what happened in the past or what is happening in contemporary India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in their politics, societies and economies.



Possibly the best definition of heraldry is that provided by Sir Anthony Wagner: the systematic use of hereditary devices centred upon the shield. It is thus the ordering of certain colours and stylised devices in various formal combinations upon the shield which, having been used consistently by their owner, are handed down unchanged from father to son, or from office-holder to office-holder. Heraldry emerged in the second quarter of the twelfth century, principally as a means of identifying knights heavily disguised in armour. Within a few generations 'coats of arms', as they came to be called, had taken on a new significance as objects of family pride and social importance. As early as the middle of the twelfth century rules existed governing the composition and style of shield devices, and by the end of the Middle Ages the accompanying paraphernalia of crests (surmounting the helmet), supporters (standing either side of the shield), badges, livery colours, mottoes, standards, and so forth, were fully incorporated into the heraldic *achievement* (1).

For the historian, heraldry should, where appropriate, be an auxiliary science in the search for a complete and accurate picture of the past. His (or her) canvas, after all, is much larger than that of the heraldist — his remit more broad. The historian is interested not only in the straightforward narrative of events that make up the bare bones of history, but in all those aspects — social, political, economic, constitutional, technological and cultural that together have served to make up man's past. Heraldry has, in its own small way, played its part in that story.

Unfortunately, the paths of heraldry and the historian have not always crossed. Too often a barrier of incomprehension and, more seriously, indifference has existed between the two. It is true that the last 100 years have witnessed a dramatic improvement in the situation with the works of heraldists such as Wagner and historians like John Horace Round, but the two still need to be drawn closer together. Heraldry continues to be written about without sufficient regard for the historical facts or the much wider historical context, and historians (perhaps not surprisingly in the circumstances) have often tended to ignore the subject.

One of the reasons for this is that heraldry has frequently failed to keep up with the rapid advances

In June and July 1962 the Third Programme broadcast a series of radio programmes entitled *The Historian at Work*. In good BBC fashion a fully illustrated booklet accompanied the series. In it the author, Vivian Hunter Galbraith, listed some of those areas and subjects of specialist enquiry that the modern historian ought to consider when constructing a picture of the past. Under the heading, 'Types of Materials', he included local history and local records, place names, architecture and building, seals, coins, newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, wills, painting and portraiture, monumental brasses, effigies and misericords. In his chapter on 'Techniques and Auxiliary Sciences' he listed palaeography, diplomatic and chronology, geography, archaeology, genealogy and heraldry. Not much more than a century ago most of these subjects would have been quickly dismissed as irrelevant to the historian's task; they belonged rather to the esoteric world of the antiquarian, dilettante, collector or herald. Today they are recognised as valuable tools of the historian's trade, affording unique sources of information and evidence. Indeed, many have become subjects of serious academic study in their own right. Sadly, however, heraldry as a branch of history has remained something of a secret garden and of all Galbraith's list is perhaps the most neglected and underrated.



2: Enamel funeral plaque of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou (late 1150s). His arms, the first known, were in use in 1128; for this date see Kate Norgate, *England Under the Angevin Kings* (1887), 1, pp.258-60 (permission: Photographie Giraudon, Paris).

made in virtually every area of historical knowledge which is admittedly fast becoming a problem for the historian. Heraldists still manage to get even the '1066' of heraldry wrong (the date of our first known coat of arms in 1128), despite its careful redating by the historian Kate Norgate a century ago (2).

Historical Context

No heraldry of the past can be fully understood or appreciated until it is firmly married to the historical facts and placed squarely within the historical context, which only the historian can provide. It is not possible, for example, to attempt a study of the vexed question of the origins of heraldry without a thorough knowledge of twelfth-century feudal society that gave

rise to its birth. To say that a man was unrecognisable in armour and therefore adopted a coat of arms both presupposes that coats of arms were ready and waiting 'on the shelf', as it were, to be discovered and used, and ignores the fact that for centuries men had not been identifiable in their armour without giving rise to heraldry. To be sure, the need for recognition is a crucial factor (perhaps the crucial factor) in explaining the origins of heraldry, but it provides no clues as to why shield devices became hereditary (a central feature of heraldry) or why they were adopted by non-combatants such as women, bishops or merchants. Other factors ought to be considered. For instance, what part did the Crusades or the evolution of the tournament play? Such questions can only be answered when the general historical background has first been set in place.

Heraldry has always been responsive to its social and political environment: it cannot be successfully divorced from the individuals, events and forces that were continually influencing its developments. Even the design of the royal arms of England, for example, the three lions passant guardant was determined by the political situation of the early 1190s.

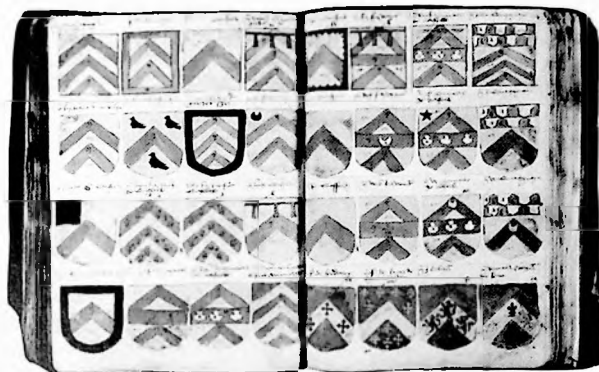
The study of heraldry is thus dependent on the work of the historian to provide the necessary context. Moreover, in the course of research, the historian very often comes into contact with a wide variety of source materials, primary and secondary, that contain valuable heraldic evidence. Such information, if recognised and duly passed on, can provide vital clues for the student of heraldry.

An Auxiliary Science

If the proper study of heraldry is impossible without history, can history ignore heraldry? Judging by their lack of reference to the subject, even when relevant to their own studies, many historians presumably think so. It must be admitted that heraldry unlike, say, archaeology, scarcely ever proffers information of which the historian would otherwise have been totally unaware. Although it has existed at the very centre of great events, as well as being part of the everyday life of the upper classes, heraldry has only very rarely taken centre-stage. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, it can provide very valuable corroborative evidence for historians studying social trends and developments. The adoption of hereditary shield devices themselves in the first half of the twelfth century, for example, is a clear indicator of the increasing importance men and women were then attaching (at least in England) to hereditary rights. Since shields were indicative of ownership and title to lands, offices and castles, their deliberate inheritance was a clear demonstration that rightful succession had (or in some cases was claimed to have) taken place.

The way in which shields descended through a family, either lineally or collaterally, can often provide useful clues for the historian as to contemporary practices of inheritance and succession. For instance, the close correlation between the descent of the De Mandeville arms, quarterly red and gold, and the descent of the Earldom of Essex at the beginning of the thirteenth century provides a very early example of the way in which heraldry could render claims pictorially, and illustrate the descent of lands and lordships within a particular family.

Because armorial bearings have been intimately connected with the nobility and those of knightly status, and later with esquires and the gentry, it is



3: Variations on a theme — *differenced* versions of the Clare arms (three chevrons) on banners and shields reflecting various relationships with and within the family; from Flower's Ordinary (mid-sixteenth century) in the College of Arms (permission: College of Arms).

possible to use the heraldic record, at least for England, as an index of the rate of rise into these classes. Sir Anthony Wagner has argued that from the fourteenth century heraldry in England is 'the most reliable tracer and indicator of the development and composition of the upper classes'. In particular, basing his findings on the statistical analysis of Dr Edward Elmhirst, he has been able to show a correlation between grants of arms made between 1550 and 1900 and the growth of the middle and upper classes.

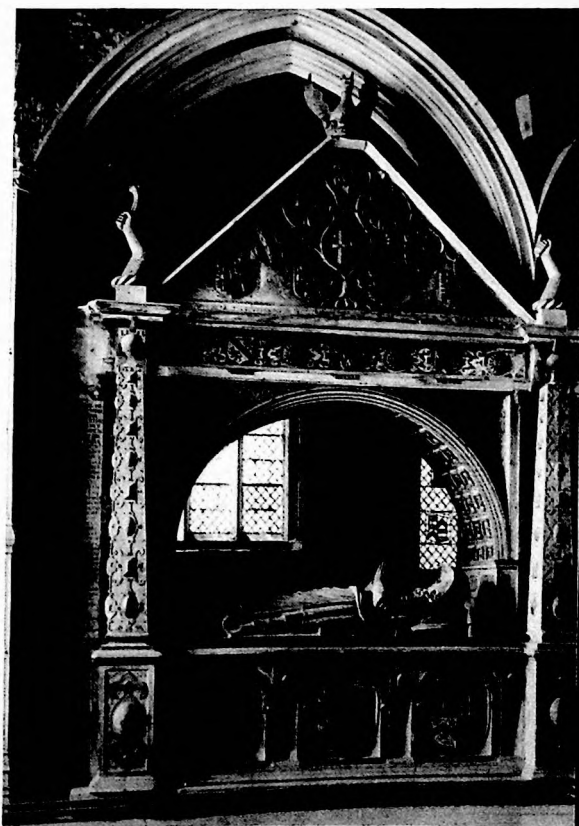
Variations, or *differences*, of an initial shield, and the combining, or *marshalling*, of one coat with another, often provide valuable evidence for the historian studying family and feudal alliances, ties of dependency, loyalty and affection, and claims to certain lands and titles. In a few instances they also reveal how contemporaries wanted others to see them. In the twelfth century a number of families connected with the famous rebel leader Geoffrey de Mandeville, first Earl of Essex, and his wife, but not otherwise linked to each other, all used variations of his famous quarterly coat. In the same manner a device from one shield might be deliberately borrowed to reflect, heraldically, a close association with the owner of that shield. An early example concerns the chevrons of the Clare family. During the Middle Ages these appeared in various forms on the shields of a number of men connected with the family by kinship, tenure or patronage (3). In an attempt to link themselves further with the great medieval dynasty of Despencer the up-and-coming Spencers of Wormleighton in the sixteenth century deliberately adopted the arms of that family differenced only by the addition of three scallop shells. This was in spite of the fact that they had been granted a perfectly good coat in 1504. The new arms can still be seen on the tomb of Sir John Spencer (d. 1586) in Great Brington Church, Northamptonshire (4), although they are perhaps best known today as the paternal coat of the Princess of Wales. When faced with shields so similar to each other, the historian might do well not to dismiss the similarities as mere coincidences, but to consider carefully the possibility of their respective owners having been in some way connected.

Likewise historians should take note of the combination, or *marshalling*, of two or more arms on the one shield. Often this simply represented a marriage or other obvious union or alliance, interesting enough in itself, but sometimes the resulting arms deserve greater attention. The ties of blood and friendship between the German emperor,

Otto IV, and the English king, John, are heavily underlined by the fact that the former *dimidiated* (literally cut in half and joined together) his imperial eagle with the English lions. The resulting design was criticised at the time on artistic grounds, but it was a political and personal statement, the significance of which was noted by at least one thirteenth-century English chronicler. Again, why in the 1390s did Richard II *impale* (or place side by side on the same shield) his royal arms with the attributed arms of his saintly predecessor, Edward the Confessor (5)? Was it to please the Irish, as Froissart suggests, or had more pious thoughts entered the King's mind? The royal pretensions suggested by the various quarterings that made up the shield of Henry Howard, the poet Earl of Surrey, were all too obvious and led directly to his execution in 1547. Further examples exist.

The adoption of shields containing multiple quarterings, which began in the fifteenth century and include, for example, those depicted on the Spencer monuments in Great Brington Church, is another clear reminder to the historian of a contemporary social trend — that of the growing desire amongst the upper classes to parade family property and connections. The various arms included in a composite shield can help the historian trace or confirm those all-important alliances and pedigrees. Similarly, employment of a number of individual shields (each often portraying one coat only) on a single seal or monument provides the historian with valuable evidence of family

4: Tomb of Sir John Spencer (d.1586) in Great Brington Church, Northants. The shields with their multiple quarterings are a vivid indicator of lineage and lordship and a useful reminder of the way contemporaries wished others to see them (permission: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art with acknowledgements to Fred H. Crossley and Maurice H. Ridgeway).

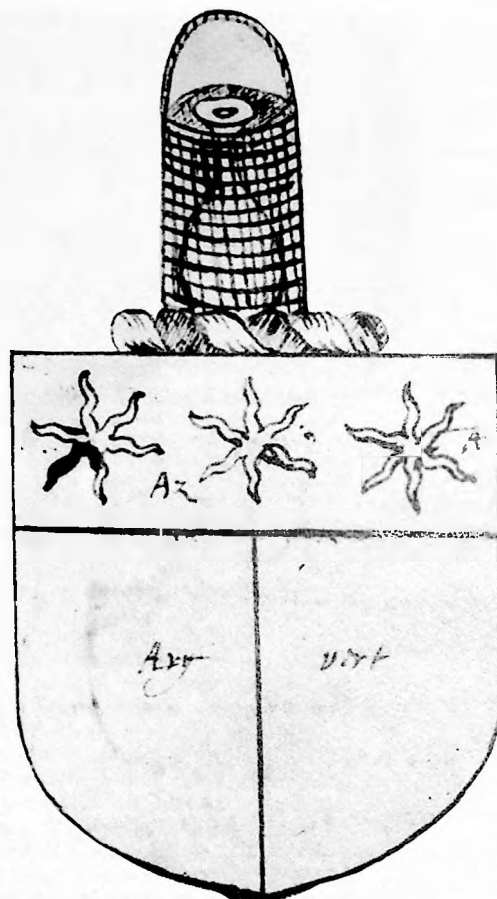


connections and concerns.

Heraldry is an excellent reminder that the Middle Ages were less literate and more dependent on the visual than present day society. Men and women would frequently remember knights by their coats of arms and refer to them by their shield designs rather than by their names. Political poems of the late Middle Ages commonly refer to nobles in terms of their badges. The coat of arms at the centre of a seal would mean more to the illiterate in establishing the authenticity of a document than the Latin inscription that surrounded it. Whereas names and titles included in the seal legend might change over the generations, the arms at the centre usually remained constant and therefore recognisable to all.

An aspect of heraldry that has been perhaps most neglected by the historian is its almost unique capacity to provide a continuous pictorial record over eight centuries of a wide variety of sometimes quite mundane objects (6). By using heraldic evidence it is possible, for example, to trace the development of costumes and uniforms (particularly naval), tools of various trades, scientific and musical instruments, weapons, and so on (7).

5: The arms of Richard II painted on the reverse of the Wilton Diptych (?1394). That Richard *impaled* his royal arms (right side of shield) with the attributed arms of Edward the Confessor and that he allowed certain individuals, including his future usurper, Henry Bolingbroke, to do likewise, is of obvious historical interest. The impaled arms also help date the Diptych (permission: National Gallery, London).



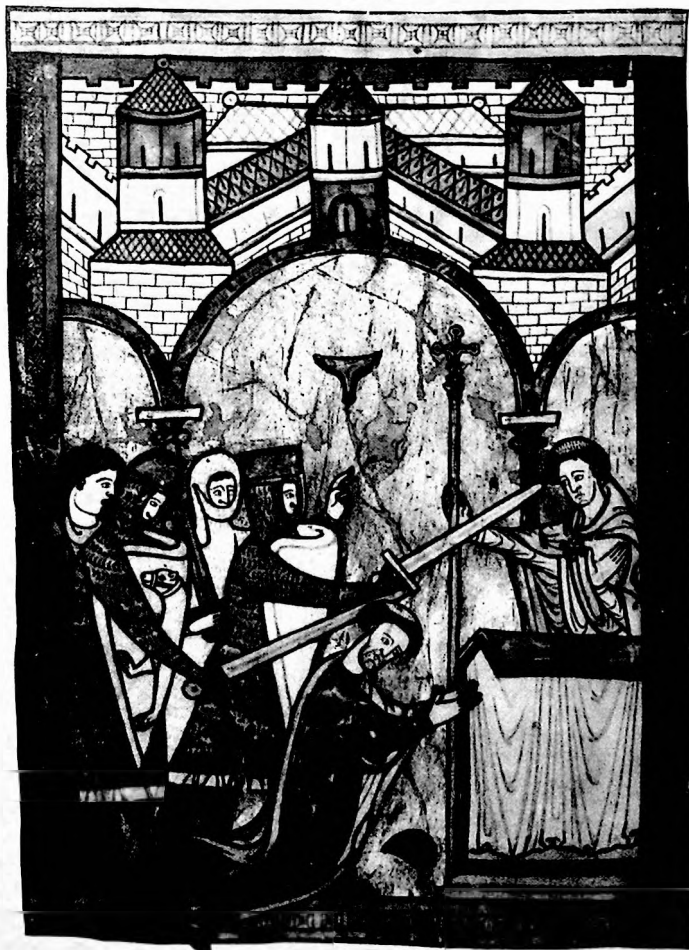
6: Contemporary heraldic illustrations often provide excellent graphic evidence of an astonishing variety of objects — in this case a urinal crest granted in 1493 to the astronomer and royal physician, Sir Louis Caerlyon (permission: College of Arms).

If this aspect of heraldry has been underrated, by contrast the best known use of arms has been in the dating of objects and artefacts. Illuminated manuscripts, paintings, portraits, seals, coins, tokens, floor tiles, enamels, church monuments, stained glass, gold and silverware, porcelain, and even items of clothing can be dated sometimes to within a few months by careful study of the heraldry displayed upon them. Moreover, the positioning and priority given to the various shields on items often help to identify the owners and perhaps the patrons or benefactors as well. Heraldry might also help to determine the provenance of an object.

Occasionally an individual, imaginary or real, can be identified in a picture by his or her arms and by no other means. We know, for example, that in certain early depictions of Becket's martyrdom it must be Reginald FitzUrse, the leader of the knights, who is striking the Archbishop because of the bear (*ursus*) on his shield (8).

The heraldic records themselves are a rich treasure house of evidence for the historian. The main categories are rolls of arms (so called because they usually consisted of rows of shields painted on vellum and sewn together in long rolls), heraldic treatises occurring from about 1300, reports of the heralds' visitations of counties begun in 1530, and finally the grants of arms surviving from the mid-fifteenth century. For example, using the early rolls of arms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Dr Noel

7: Arms of Lord Nelson on a cup (1802). References to specific events and examples of some of the honours heaped upon Horatio are scattered throughout the design. Grants of arms to such military and naval figures often provide excellent contemporary examples of uniforms etc (permission: Trustees of the British Museum).



Denholm-Young was able to demonstrate sociological trends and military information scarcely discernible elsewhere. The heraldic treatises throw light not only on heraldic matters but also on symbolism, chivalry and the laws and art of the war. The Visitations are an invaluable source of information to genealogists and social historians of the Tudor and Stuart period, though they are not without error or fabrication. Grants of arms, surviving either as original letters patent or as painted in the College of Arms' archives, provide (as we have already noted) an unique illustrative record over many centuries of such items as military and naval uniforms, craftsmen's tools or even contemporaries' notions of what a rhinoceros or whale or Red Indian looked like.

Untapped Source

It is clear that heraldry has much to offer the historian. Why, then, has he tended to ignore it? First, the historian is understandably suspicious of a subject which, as we have seen, has so often been studied in isolation from its historical context and without due attention to the relevant historical facts. Secondly, it is not always easy for the historian to distinguish the many legends and traditions, that are almost an integral part of the subject, from the truth. Thirdly, there is the nature of the heraldic evidence itself. One of the peculiarities of heraldry is that it occurs in a bewildering range of contexts. Only a few categories — seals, rolls of arms and early literary references — have been systematically examined for their heraldic content, and even here the evidence has often turned out to be fragmentary. A great deal still remains to be discovered. No attempt, for example, has yet been made to bring together illuminated manuscripts for the particular purpose of studying their heraldry. Moreover, even when all the information has been collected there remain the delicate questions of reliability and interpretation.

Nor is the problem confined to primary sources. Because of the diverse nature of the evidence some of the best research on the heraldry of, say, coins, floor tiles or medieval chests is to be found in an astonishing variety of specialist journals or is buried deep within the pages of an obscure tome. No annual bibliography of heraldic research exists. Given these difficulties the historian is naturally wary of using the heraldic evidence for his own purposes or even referring to its existence when appropriate. Only when much more of the available material has been collected and carefully analysed, region by region and class by class, will he feel more secure in using such heraldic information as comes to hand.

FURTHER READING

For heraldry in its historical context the best introductory works are Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* (London, 1978), Rodney Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds* (London, 1982), *British Heraldry*, ed. R. Marks and A. Payne (London, 1978), and C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry*, revd ed. (London, 1967). The best textbooks in English on heraldry in general are *Boutell's Heraldry*, revd J.P. Brooke-Little (London, 1978), which contains an excellent critical bibliography, A.C. Fox-Davies, *The Complete Guide to Heraldry*, revd J.P. Brooke-Little (London, 1985), and T. Woodcock and J.M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988).

8: The bear (Latin: *ursus*) on his shield distinguishes Reginald FitzUrse in this early painting of the martyrdom of Becket (BL, MS Harley 5102, f.32, c.1200). A very similar earlier representation of the same scene (BL, MS Cotton Claudius B. II, f.341, c.1180) provides the first definite English example of punning or *canting* heraldry (permission: British Library).

Young Historian Scheme

**Moving on to History Day —
Les Hardy, Executive Officer
of the Young Historian
Scheme reports on progress.**

'All right, you've heard the waffle all before, you are up to your ears in new schemes, initiatives and Mr Bun's bright ideas. But the YHS really is different, instead of taking away your time it is about giving you time and support, both moral and financial. All those activities that make history teaching worthwhile and exciting that are now under threat, it is possible to achieve. Yes, membership of YHS involves extra work, but you have the backup of a national organization, devoted to the promotion of history, and through the local steering committee, time and supply cover (yes, you did read that right!) can be found for you to develop that fantastic idea, if only...'

Our text comes from a recent circular produced by the YHS teachers in Lancashire, with the financial support of the *Lancashire Evening Telegraph*. It reflects both the problems teachers face today and the enthusiasm for a way out of those problems that we have met all over the country. One constituent of the 'way out' has been finding help and encouragement from previously untapped sources. By the time this magazine reaches you there will be twenty Young Historian Centres operating, and more are in the pipeline. Several LEA's have already decided simply to 'buy in' all their schools en bloc to the Scheme, whilst we hope shortly to announce the opening of a centre sponsored by industry. Funding has been granted for a two-year secondment to set up the Scheme in Northern Ireland, a most encouraging feature — and Wales and Scotland in their various ways are coming in too. We are in active negotiation with the Department of Trade and Industry and with the Council of Europe, both of whom will want to play an active part in promoting the Scheme. English Heritage and the National Trust are working with us on plans that will first yield results on **History Day**, which will take place this year on October 12th. On that day, the Imperial War Museum in London and Kellogs' in Manchester will see the presentation of some 32 prizes funded within the Scheme.

All big and exciting issues, which keep all of us running the Scheme very busy, but it would be wrong just to think of it at this high level alone. We are doing lots of smaller things as well, but small things that matter a lot. This year, for example the Young Historian Scheme has sponsored six scholarships in conjunction with Manchester University Extra Mural Department for young people who are studying at 'A' level and want to go on to university, to do just that, attending a residential course getting the feel of history at degree level. We chose those who wouldn't have been able to go without our help, but deserved it, and their letters of thanks have been very touching. We can use small sums of money to great effect sometimes.

Getting Young Historians off the ground has been by no means easy, we have had some rocky moments, but as a result of the tenacity shown both within and outside of the Historical Association we can now say

that we are on course for the fulfilment of all our prime objectives. But to keep flying we need more and more publicity and more and more initiatives rising from the localities. The more our successes are known about, the more chance we have to continue into the future. Yet many still do not seem to know of our existence or have got the wrong end of the stick about our activities, despite this being the seventh article about us *The Historian* has run, and the three newsletters we have sent to 8,000 schools. So pass the word along, reader.

A major initiative of the Scheme has been the establishment of **History Day**, one occasion in the year when we can focus attention on history in and out of school, and on the genuine quality of what goes on. Our brief report on the 1988 piloting of **History Day** could only offer a taste of what went on in the forty or so events we knew of. Since then others have come to light, and it has been so pleasing to see how many primary schools got themselves involved — as time goes on we are going to have to do more and more for primary schools, for the response is already coming thick and fast. As the National Curriculum will affect Primary education first, we should be ready in a national scheme with many local centres to undertake some of the necessary co-ordination and advice that will be needed if change is to be implemented at all comfortably and to the benefit of history in schools.

History Day is a showcase, and in 1989 we hope to have as much and more to show off in terms of the results of good work by teachers, sponsors and children, all working in a planned and coherent pattern towards good and useful ends. There will be basically three types of activity. The first type will be those activities that have required most in planning and time to come to fruition. In Leicestershire, for example, a major project is already under way on the hosiery industry, in which major companies are working alongside middle and high schools. This work involves producing a resources pack, a data base, and organizing a number of visits for study on site. This project has been planned in co-ordination with and with invaluable advice from both DTI and UBI.

Some of our activities will be specially designed for the **History Day** itself. The Tower of London produced a model for this kind of event in 1988, when they arranged for pupils to study buildings, artefacts and documents in conjunction with experts on the period. We hope this year at the Imperial War Museum to offer document and gallery study in a similar manner on the day. During their first appreciation of the documents they have been supplied with, the students will raise a number of questions, and following this session the experts from the Museum will lead parties to the resources available and set out to attempt answers. We may get some surprising results, but it will be another way of getting into the skin of an active historian, doing the job, not just being told about it. Although we shall be delighted to be working on great national stages such as the Imperial War Museum, similar things may be done on a local level. Portsmouth Record Office last year mounted a splendid **History Day** event which involved pupils choosing documents about the history of their town that might be most suitable to accompany a promoter on a tour of America. What a good idea!

The third type of activity we are planning for **History Day** consists of start up events for exciting new ventures. Last year the Regimental Museum at Preston formed the venue for the start of joint school visits as part of Modern World History studies. During the following week pupils spent an invigorating time on the Somme looking at sites where soldiers from their own area fought and suffered in 1916. This programme had been carefully planned, with visits by teachers to the sites in advance, and considerable co-ordination between the various schools involved, the museum and the tour operators. As a result of all this hard work in planning there has been an upsurge of interest in the area that has done a great deal to rouse community interest in school activities. Wreaths have been laid, parents have asked for tours for adults, and now 12 schools are sending 200 pupils in October 1989. It is no longer just a matter of enhancing subjects being studied for GCSE; it is now a matter of bringing history alive in the whole community in a new and powerful way.

We hope to put together reports from a number of centres on their activities for **History Day**, so it is important for us that you write in and tell us what you are doing, and afterwards how it all went. Part of our job at the centre is simply to disseminate ideas and information. After all, the good practice is out there, where you are in schools and colleges, not in offices or studies. We have had many cheering comments from many different quarters — children, teachers, parents and people in the community at large. Perhaps what is most encouraging is the reaction of businessmen and women who have little time to sit down and hear about children and history, but who are increasingly doing just that. The world is changing rapidly, and with it education: no longer is schooling a private world where irrelevant cultural matters are forced down children's throats before they grow old enough to enter the real world. Now there are businesses, there are local services that want in on education, and schools are steadily moving out themselves. In this history must have a part if it is going to succeed in the new world of tomorrow.

Many teachers are anxious about this, worried lest education should be taken out of the hands of teachers, somehow, and concerned about the moral implications of sponsorship — isn't money somehow 'dirty', can you ever trust a capitalist? Well, there is plenty to argue about on either side, but from the point of view of the Young Historian Scheme we have to tell you that our experience has been uniquely good. Let's finish with two examples.

First of all we went along to a big firm in London that markets itself with multi-coloured umbrellas. Their offices seemed pretty dauntingly palatial, and their security systems impressive. Yet their Education Relations Manager, Mike Essex (who will be contributing an article on sponsorship to our next newsletter) was clearly well briefed and talking our language. He was involved right through from supporting chairs in business studies down to little seven year olds drawing their local church. He and his firm wanted to be concerned in our development — not just to hand out money and ask for banner headlines, but to be involved, to have staff in schools, to bring pupils into offices, to monitor the real effect of the liaison. So we are busily working out a package now, so if you might see a project on some aspect of assurance in your school, let us know and we will start putting people in touch.

Yet it isn't all big money and top offices in London. Our chairman, attending a launch of a book on the history of education in West Sussex (called *Scholars and Slates*, from the Record Office and very good too) noticed that it had been sponsored by his own local bank. Within two ticks he was in there negotiating a prize for the local branch, and the pupils are just about to go in to see the bank manager and tell him what they have been doing. All very heart warming and just right.

So get going, plan something for **History Day**, and if you need help, write and ask for advice, to

*The Young Historian Scheme,
4 Lifford Place
Leeds LS2 9JZ*

CORRESPONDENCE

Pushing for the Past

Sir, Nicholas Reeves (*The Historian* no. 21) mentioned the pedagogic achievements of history in polytechnics and colleges. This is to be saluted. Yet it omits any consideration of why history was introduced into colleges in the first place, and therefore how history was brought into some polytechnics. It was introduced in order to equip teachers to teach some historical material, mainly in primary schools, a function for which college history staffs were well equipped. In addition, history was developed as a suitable field for personal education of students irrespective of their teaching.

From the 1960s until the late 1970s the ATCDE History Section (to become NATFHE History Section) stimulated some of the best teacher training in this area holding regular conferences and editing a journal. With the changes in higher education in the 1970s this situation

changed, but not entirely. Indeed, some excellent courses are still run to train students to teach history in primary schools either in BEd. degree courses or PGCE courses.

Now, preparation for history teaching in primary schools has suddenly become important again. The imminent introduction of history as a foundation subject has ensured that this other kind of 'pushing for the past' deserves at least some mention, alongside the academic flexibility that public sector historians, inside and outside teacher education, have conspicuously displayed.

Joan E. Blyth,
9 St. John's Road, Queen's Park, Chester
CH4 7AL.

Reflections on the Mirror Image

Sir, The front and back covers of *The Historian* no. 20 carry a magnificent picture of the Registan in Samarkand.

Unfortunately, it is a picture which does not exist, because it depicts Registan square the wrong way round, as it would be seen in a mirror.

It is easy to print a negative the wrong way round, as many an amateur photographer has discovered, but one expects more from professionals! I was not surprised to find that your mirror picture of Registan was from the USSR Photo Agency. This is the third mirror picture I have seen published, one other also of Registan. Both the others were on official productions in the English language on sale to tourists, published by the state authorities. One would have expected someone to have noticed it. Perhaps they did, and someone said 'Let it be, all these are all sold?' This would not be a very clever cover.

A.H. Jennings
74 Clarks Grove Road, Enfield, Middlesex

We reproduce the picture on the front and back covers of *The Historian* no. 20 as a magnificent illustration of the Registan in Samarkand. It is a photograph of the Registan in Samarkand, and it is a photograph of the Registan in Samarkand.

ANNIVERSARY

150 Years of Photography

To celebrate the 150th anniversary of the registration of the technique of photography in 1839 we present a selection of civic photographs taken at the turn of the century. They are all from the Francis Frith Collection and reproduced with grateful acknowledgement. The Frith archive is considered by the National Monument Record to be the most important collection of British topographical photographs in private ownership. With over 300,000 views of about 4000 towns and villages, it is a primary source of information on British life and character during the period 1860 to 1970. Local historians will greatly benefit from its publication in microfiche form, which has been planned to coincide with the 150th anniversary of photography. County fiche sets are already available in some major libraries, and the project should be completed by the middle of next year. For further information about the Frith archive and the new fiche edition contact The Francis Frith Collection PLC, Charlton Road, Andover, Hants SP10 3LE. Telephone (0264) 53113.



All the towns included here had so many in collection by the beginning of the Great War that one might be pulled out of the hat will win the Royal Academy's fully illustrated book on *The Art of Photography 1839-1939*. Entries to Headquarters.

Reading, Municipal Buildings 1893



Exeter, High St 1896





Manchester, Piccadilly from Queens Hotel 1889



Plymouth, The Barbican 1890



Liverpool, Lime Street 1890



P · E · R · S · O · N · A · L · I · A

Dorothy Marshall



Dorothy Marshall, recalls her impressions of Girton (1918-22) in a relaxed talk to Henry Loyn, one of her former pupils.

I come from a family of teachers. My grandfather was a teacher and so was my father who ran his own boarding school for boys near Camforth. Brought up among boys I was something of a tomboy but also a great reader. *Robin Hood*, Scott, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, Dumas, and also Mary Johnson's epic of the American Civil War. Later I had the thrill of staying with Mary Johnson in her Virginian home.

At the age of eleven I was sent to Park School, Preston. No school could have been better. Miss Stoneham, the Head, was an inspired teacher and I came away with an abiding love of Shakespeare and some acquaintance with Biblical criticism. My father had intended me to go to Manchester, his old university, but Miss Stoneham, herself a Cambridge woman, decided that Girton was right for me and even coached me herself in Greek, then necessary for Little Go. I can never be too grateful for her concern nor for that of my history teacher whose parting advice was 'Always wear good corsets and remember that she who would have friends must show herself friendly'!

Though we attended the same lectures as men, women were not members of the University and Girton was mainly a self-contained female world with its own social life. We each had our own suite of rooms, a small bedroom and barely furnished study, lighted by oil lamps and heated by a coal fire. With a single scuttle of coal a day we were often cold. In late 1918, my first

session, we still had sawdust closets whose nightsoil had to be discreetly removed. In the Spring of 1919 the men flooded back from the War, including a contingent of Americans, sampling English university life before returning home. They helped to break down the sex barrier, taking us on the river, inviting us to dances and tea parties. To me some of the magic of Cambridge is still in memory of bump races and of May week.

In my second year the Americans had gone but so had the isolation of the women. My own social life came to centre on a small dance club, the Vingt-et-un, which met every Thursday where we were invited guests and the men our hosts. Friendships formed there opened other doors. Members of the Union could provide tickets that entitled members of Girton and Newnham to sit, duly chaperoned, in the gallery at Union debates. We heard Haldane, Dalton, Belloc, Drinkwater and Walpole, but the speaker I lost my heart to was the young Lieutenant Louis Mountbatten. The Liberal Club and attendance at the Marlowe Society and the Amateur Dramatic Club kept me busy. I was confirmed and took my first communion at King's College Chapel.

Nevertheless in spite of all the social activity academic work was the centre of my life. I was never a last minute crammer, believing that a clear mind was more important than one cluttered with half-digested information. No wonder my diary often started 'I am so very tired'! The Cambridge Tripos with its emphasis on outline courses suited me well then in my later career. The wide range gave something on which to build. My special subject on the Whigs proved a starting point for my subsequent work on the eighteenth century. Lectures were the core of the teaching, and cutting not condoned even when they were (as on Modern European history) as dull as ditchwater. Dr Tanner on modern constitutional history was lively with an anecdotal approach. Lapsley on the medieval side was formidable, admitting women to his lectures only on sufferance, distinguishing between the men who were 'members of the university' and the 'students of Newnham and Girton'. Coulton was in a class apart providing me with an example of how not to lecture, yet leaving me with a feeling that I understood better what the medieval world was about. Eileen Power was the best of them all, clear, often deceptively simple, yet making every

essential point. She provided the model I always tried to follow.

Lectures were the central core, but the serious work of reading around them depended on advice from our Director of Studies. I had the enormous good luck to have Eileen Power as my tutor. I had come to Girton an intellectual snob with a mind above clothes and the frivolities of life. Eileen put me right. She had style, was beautifully dressed, friendly and informal. Intellectually she made a vital link with what was then the advanced school of historical thinking, associated with Tawney, guilds, agriculture. She taught me to see history whole and my debt to her is immeasurable. Her successor, Gladys Jones, was more orthodox and formal and yet also most helpful and encouraging. Other tutors, drawn from the Cambridge colleges, made little impact — the contact with them was too infrequent and impersonal.

My First in Part Two made an academic career possible, at Girton for one further year and then in the very different world of the LSE where Dr Lilian Knowles was my supervisor. I completed my thesis in good time, but academic jobs, then as now, were not easy to come by. My book on the Poor Law was published in 1926, but it was not until 1930 that my feet were firmly on the academic ladder with my appointment to Bedford College. In the meantime I had valuable and enjoyable experience in posts at Vassar, at Reigate School for Girls and Witwatersrand, together with some tutoring at Girton itself.

You ask for my final impression of Girton. We were a homogeneous group, largely drawn from good grammar schools and mostly from professional families with a sprinkling from the homes of wealthy industrialists and prominent politicians. With our common social background we were not class conscious in the modern sense. We were all 'ladies' and the men we knew were 'gentlemen' and so the matter was not important. Nor were we interested in sex as a subject. Instead we discussed religion or politics, or indulged in innocent romances and gossiped about those of our friends. At least some of us did — most, I suspect — including myself. Looking back, of course, I forget the dull days, the disappointments of youth and its tribulations. I remember the happy days and am glad to be a Girtonian and to claim Cambridge as my *alma mater* — even though it did not concede full membership to its daughters until 1948.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Adrian Ailes is Development Officer of the Historical Association and assistant editor of *The Historian*. He is also programme secretary of the Heraldry Society and a council member of the Harleian Society. He has written *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England* and with Hubert Chesshyre (Chester Herald) *Heralds of Today*.

Judith M. Brown was born in India, educated in England and did her graduate and undergraduate studies at Cambridge. She is currently Senior Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. The focus

of her work on modern Indian history, politics and society has been the career of M.K. ('Mahatma') Gandhi. Her main published works are *Gandhi's Rise to Power. Indian Politics 1915-22* (1972); *Gandhi And Civil Disobedience. The Mahatma In Indian Politics, 1928-34* (1977); *Men And Gods In A Changing World: Some Themes in the Religious Experience of Twentieth-Century Hindus and Christians* (1983); *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (1985). Forthcoming in the autumn, 1989, is her major biography of Gandhi for general and specialist readers *Gandhi — Prisoner of Hope*.

Penny Summerfield is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Educational Research at Lancaster University where she teaches courses in the social history of education and women's studies. She is author of *Women Workers in the Second World War* (1984) and, with Gail Braydon, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (1987), as well as articles on various aspects of the Second World War and on schooling in the twentieth century. She is currently working on a study of gender, class and schooling in Lancashire in the twentieth century, based on oral history.

Historical Association

• Historical Association Membership 1989-90

• Membership and Journal Subscription

As agreed at the Annual General Meeting in Glasgow on 5 April, membership subscriptions (with the exception of student/graduand subscriptions and local history affiliations) will be increased from 1 October 1989. The rates for 1989-90 will be:

- Individual membership: £16.50, with *History* £27, with *Teaching History* £31.50 and with both £42.
- Corporate Membership: £21.00, with *History* £33, with *Teaching History* £38.50, and with both £50.50.

• The Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature and all other publications will not increase in price.

• Pamphlet subscription

Full details of this will be on all membership renewal notices.

• Non Member subscriptions to *History* will be £29, *Teaching History* £31.50. Overseas rates available on application for non-member subscriptions.

All members, whether they pay by cheque or direct debit will shortly receive individual renewal notices. Corporate members have been sent pro-forma invoices for their renewal of subscription, as usual.

Madeline Stiles, Association Secretary

• The Aurelius Trust

The Association is delighted to announce that it has recently received a most generous donation of £2,000 from the Trust, which was founded by Dr Marc Fitch. Dr Fitch is an Honorary Vice-President. (We hope to use the donation for a specific local history project.)

• French Institute

For the past few years, the French Institute has been taking a growing interest in history. The programme for the 1989-1990 academic year includes History of Art courses for beginners in French art (weekly from October to June), a seminar on French History, 16th-19th century (monthly from October to June); and a second international history conference (3-5 May 1990). This will be on: *Clientélismes et Patronages en Angleterre, en France et en Italie, 1550-1750*, and speakers will include English, French and Italian historians. The French Institute will also host the fourth HA/Society for the Study of French History annual Sixth-Form conference in March 1990. The Institute has very kindly agreed to allow members of the Historical Association to attend its annual series of lectures and its new seminar on French History. Members of the Historical Association will also be entitled to a reduction on the registration fee for the annual international conference held at the Institute. For further details, please write to Dr Charles Giry-Deleison, Institut Français du Royaume-Uni, 17 Queensberry Place, South Kensington, London SW7 2DT (telephone 01-589 6211).

• Branch News

• Cheltenham and Gloucester Branch

The Branch is arranging a very special series of lectures on Gloucestershire Local History as part of the celebrations of the 200th Volume of the Victoria County History. The lectures will be held at the Guildhall Arts Centre, Gloucester in the Autumn and will be followed by an 'Any Questions' forum. 3 October: *Interpreting the Gloucestershire Landscape* by Dr N.

Herbert. 17 October: *The County Historians of Gloucestershire* by Dr J. Jurica.

31 October: *The Parish Church and Church Life in Gloucestershire* by Dr J.H. Bettey.

14 November: *Social Life in Gloucestershire Towns in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* by Professor P. Clark.

28 November: *Forum: Questions on Gloucestershire Local History*.

Further information is available from D.J.H. Smith or N.M. Herbert, County Record Office, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester GL1 3DW. Telephone: (0452) 425299 or 425292.

• Bristol Branch

The Branch has just published another in its Local History Pamphlets, *The Police in Late Victorian Bristol* by Brian Howell. All enquiries to Peter Hamis, 74 Bell Barn Road, Bristol BS9 2DG.

• The Newcastle Branch Reaches Eighty Not Out

More than 40 members of the Newcastle upon Tyne Branch and their friends met last December to celebrate 80 years of continuous Historical Association activity in the North East. The curving splendour of the SCR at the University of Newcastle made a fine setting for a lecture by the National President on *The Edwardians and the Historians*. The party was a great success. From the special history of the branch which is being published to coincide with the celebrations,* one reads that from a membership of 39 in its foundation year, the branch reached the dizzy heights of 200 in 1978. Today the branch is as active as ever. Even if the nights at Balmora's Music Hall, (legendary starting point for the journey to Blaydon Races) are now no more than a fond memory, the branch is keeping up the tradition of a Christmas entertainment in 1989 with a Victorian lantern-slide lecture to be given in full costume.

* Copies of *The Historical Association in Newcastle upon Tyne* may be obtained by sending £1 to Mr P Kenyon, 19 Ridgely Drive, Ponteland, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE20 9BJ.



• Member to Member

• Mr E.L.C. Mullins has copies of *History* Volumes 51-69, February 1966-June 1984 inclusive and miscellaneous from 1917 to 1954. Please telephone him on 01-638 5016 to arrange collection.

• Mr I.L. Baker has a wide selection of HA pamphlets for disposal. Please contact Headquarters for a list.

◆ Australia's Past in Front of You

A gathering for the major prizewinners was generously hosted by the Commonwealth Secretariat on Anzac Day, 25 April 1989. Entries with an Australian connection included unpublished convict letters, emigrants' journals, music hall songs, household inventories, photographs of



Mr Peter Harris, Honorary Secretary, presents Jenny Burbage and Mrs Gwyneth Pritchard of Acklam Whin Primary School, Middlesbrough, with prizes for their school's entry. Miss Jill Waterhouse, the competition organizer, stands on the left and Mr John Gale (on his last official appearance as Honorary Treasurer) is in the background.

Historical Association

church windows, military artefacts and buildings, and family history. The Historical Association gratefully acknowledges the donation of prizes from companies and individuals, especially the hamper and cash prizes donated by Australian Dried Fruit (Mr J. Corner); and prizes from Royal Doulton; Ranleigh Ltd; Toye, Kenning and Spencer Ltd; Batsford Books; the BBC; *History Today*; *Australian Geographic*; Reeve Photography, Cambridge; Heffers Booksellers, Cambridge; Mr Alan Seabrooke, Ipswich; Major Burrows, Tenterfield, New South Wales; David Baillie Vintners, Exeter. Among prizewinners, special mention must be made of the following: Mrs Sheila Boumer, Mrs Daphne Rance, Mr Bruce Dowling, Mrs Gwyneth Pritchard and Acklam Whin Primary School. Other prizewinners from Britain and Australia were: Mr Adrian Alabaster, Mrs Anne Bowring and pupils, Mr Martyn Brown, Mr Ian Cripps, Mr Mike Davis, Mrs Patricia Dunn, Mr John Freeman, Mr Keith Gregson, Miss Jane Herron, Mr Harry Hether, Mrs J.L. Hewitt, Mrs Edna Murray, Mrs Hazel Speer and pupils, Mrs Agnes Spier, Mrs Molly Spink, Mr Peter Stanley, Mrs Joy Tompkins, Mrs Joyce Wheatley, Mrs Janette Williams, Miss Rachel Walker, Mrs Christine Watts and pupils, Mr Cliff Winton and Mrs Brenda Worton.

◆ A Message of Thanks

I should like to express to all of you who were not able to be with us at Glasgow my

sincerest thanks for the kind things that were said about me, and for the very generous presentation I received from the President to which so many of you had contributed, on my standing down after some 26 years as Honorary Secretary. Whenever I use my handsome Sheaffer fountain pen, or 'take a breather' on my sportstick I shall always be reminded of activities and experiences of all kinds which I shared with so many of you. I am still in the process of deciding how best to spend my cheque so that there can be many more reminders.

Though not a life member of the Association, I cannot remember a time when I have not been a member. During my undergraduate days back in the thirties, my guide and mentor, Professor Sir Frank Stenton as he became, expected all his students to become members, and apart from an interval during the war years, that has remained the position with me. Having been 'volunteered' by my predecessor in office as Honorary Secretary, Mr H.A.T. Simmonds, to be Conference Secretary for the Annual Conference in London in 1960, I rather suddenly found myself nominated as his successor following his sudden death in 1962. The Association has continued to occupy a major part of my life ever since.

It has been a great pleasure and a privilege to have established and maintained contacts and friendships with so many Presidents, fellow officers, members of Council and other Association

officers and members in all parts of the United Kingdom over such a long period of time. As the years have passed I have become increasingly aware of the very real sense of fellowship and camaraderie by which the Association is characterised. I have greatly appreciated the many expressions of thanks and good wishes which I have received recently.

I feel honoured to have been invited to become an Honorary Vice-President of the Association, and I look forward to serving you all in whatever ways I can for a little longer in my new capacity of Deputy President. I wish Peter Harris every happiness and success as Honorary Secretary in the years that lie ahead. The greatest service we can render him and the Association is to continue in our efforts to increase membership by every possible means.

Harold L. Freakes

Immediate Past Honorary Secretary

● Administrative Meetings

(At Headquarters unless otherwise stated)
Council and Committees (Education, Local History, Membership Services, Publications)
7 October 1989
10 February 1990
Council only
21 April 1990 (in Cheltenham)
Finance and General Purposes Committee
13 January 1990

In Memoriam

JOHN GALE



The sudden and untimely death of our Honorary Treasurer, John Gale, on 29 April, which was briefly mentioned in the *Spring Historian*, has left us all with feelings of deep sorrow and profound shock. At the time when he took over this major responsibility the office of Honorary Treasurer had been unfilled for several

months, and in the intervening period of nearly four years John made an immense and invaluable contribution to our life and work. Quite apart from his normal range of duties as Honorary Treasurer, John dealt with a number of new and important developments. These included the control and oversight of the financial arrangements for the Young Historian Scheme, the setting up of the Development Fund, the investment arrangements for the Norton Medlicott Bequest and negotiations with commercial publishers in respect of three of our major publications, *Teaching History*, *History* and *The Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*.

John was born and grew up in the North London area. He spent the whole of his professional life in local authority financial matters in the former Borough of Tottenham, and, following local government reorganization in 1965, in the Borough of Haringey where he was Deputy Borough Treasurer at the time of his retirement. The historical world was a new experience for him, and one which proved to be a source of great interest and enjoyment. He identified himself with the work of the Association in a wonderful way, and constantly offered suggestions whereby its influence and coverage might be extended.

John Gale's financial understanding and expertise and his sheer professionalism, which were of the highest order, gained for him our heartfelt respect and admiration,

and happily these qualities were combined with a warm and friendly personality and a dry sense of humour which endeared him to us all. This was true, not only of the close contacts he made at Headquarters and within Council and its committees, but also amongst Branch Officers and a growing number of ordinary members whom he got to know, particularly at Annual Conferences.

John was a man of wide interests. In his younger days he was a keen tennis player and sporting activities of all kinds continued to appeal to him. He played a prominent part in the activities of his Rotary Club, and involvement in the advancement of charitable causes (the work of the League of Friends of Tottenham Hospitals being especially dear to his heart) remained with him throughout his life; this was very fittingly recognised in the award of the Queen's Jubilee Medal which he received for community service in 1977. During the later war years and in his subsequent military service he served as a petty officer in the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean area, and this whetted his appetite for travel. Painting was another favourite pastime.

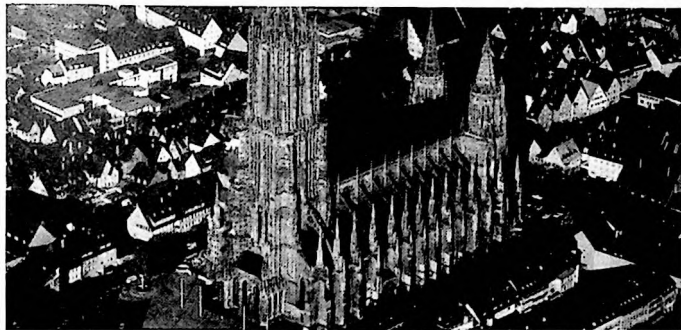
With the death of John Gale at only 63 the Association mourns the loss of a true and trusted friend, whom it will be exceedingly difficult to replace. His brother has been greatly moved by the many tributes to John's memory he has received from friends within the Association.



TOURS

1990

Next year will see the usual varied offering of The Historical Association tours, suiting most tastes and pockets, and providing a chance of visiting places you are otherwise unlikely to see, whether remote corners of Eastern Europe or elegant private homes in the West Midlands. Make your preliminary choice now (Welsh Borders with Salmon and Cumbria with Mount, South Germany with Lyle or Albania with Ann Hay...?) and write to The Historical Association, FREEPOST, London SE11 4BR, asking for the appropriate leaflets. You will receive, as soon as they are ready (and well before the next Historian arrives with more details), the full descriptive notes and booking forms prepared by your tour leader. Remember that the prices given here (and some other details) are provisional and give general guidance only. Tom Corfe



◆ Tour 1: Baden-Württemberg 9-20 April

A long-awaited opportunity to visit a surprisingly neglected area of South Germany; Swabia has a mixture of half-timbered villages with baroque churches and palaces, all set in delightful countryside of hills, woods and valleys. You fly to Stuttgart, and stay in Schwabisch Hall, Ravensburg and Tübingen.

Leaders: Lawrence Lyle and Anita Burk. Cost: about £570.

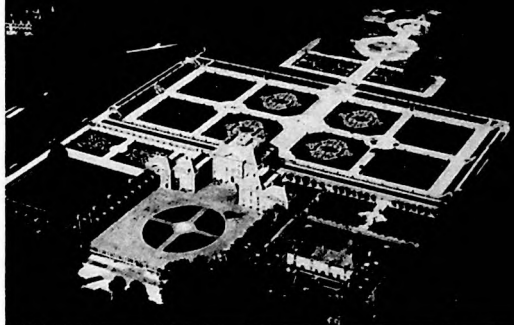
◆ Tour 2: Worcestershire and the Welsh Border 21-26 April

Your post-Conference tour takes off from Cheltenham to move to Holland House, beside the Avon at Crophorne near Pershore (our delightful base in 1986). You will visit some fascinating houses (several rarely open to the public) and pleasant villages over a wide area from the Cotswold and the Malvern Hills to the Border.

Leaders: John Salmon and Tom Corfe. Cost: about £195.

◆ Tour 3: Holland 7-14 May

You fly out to stay at an attractive hotel near Apeldoorn (where William III's Het Loo was a royal palace until 1975) in well forested country. You will explore Amsterdam, with splendid picture galleries and many reminders of Holland's seventeenth-century golden age, as well as smaller villages and old towns like Hoorn and Delft. Leaders: John Salmon and Tom Corfe. Cost: about £420.



◆ Tour 4: The Northern Isles Late May-Early June

Your second chance to visit Orkney and Shetland, in a repeat of the highly successful 1988 trip to see marvellous monuments and spacious views.

Leaders: Marjorie Kennedy and Tom Corfe. Cost: about £200, plus cost of accommodation and travel to Orkney.

◆ Tour 5: Cumbria about 8-15 August

You will stay in Lancaster, following the Revision School, and travel the length and breadth of Cumbria to visit some fine houses and remarkable monuments, with a trip on Coniston Water in the steam yacht 'Gondola'.

Leader: Ken Mount. Cost: about £300.

◆ Tour 6: Prehistoric England about 16-23 August

You take off from London on this thematic tour, staying in Wiltshire and Devon and visiting sites and museums across the Southern counties to find out what happened in Britain BC.

Leader: Tom Corfe. Cost: about £300.

◆ Tour 7: Albania and Hungary Mid-August

Another second chance. There was a memorable Albanian tour in 1985. If you are revisiting you will see many changes in that surprising country, and you will go on to the very different world of Budapest, one of Europe's most attractive capitals.

Leader: Ann Hay with Regent Holidays. Cost: about £850.

◆ Tour 8: Leningrad and the Baltic Republics about 22 September-6 October

You can tour the most Westernised end of the Soviet Union, from bases in the very distinctive cities of Tallinn,



Riga and Vilnius (as well as Leningrad and Moscow) where Teutonic, Finnish and Slavonic influences overlap. Leader: Tom Corfe with Regent Holidays. Cost: about £950.

◆ Tour 9: Coalbrookdale Weekend probably 19-21 October

An expert introduction to the most attractive and impressive aspects of the Industrial Revolution, in the ever-expanding complex of sites and museums in the Ironbridge Gorge.

Leader: Marilyn Palmer. Cost: about £100.

◆ China Tour July-August

Finally, those who know Sarah Newman (who is leading a London tour for us in 1991) and anyone attracted to the Far East may like to know that she is arranging her own China tour for July-August 1990; anyone interested contact Sarah at 87 St John's Park, Blackheath, SE3 7JW, 01-858 1837.

OUT & ABOUT

◆ *Booking forms are enclosed which can be used for most of the events shown here. However, if you misplace the booking form you can still book but we need details of the exact event and how many places you require. Please take careful note of where bookings should be sent and to whom cheques should be made payable. (Please send a separate cheque for each event.) We regret that we cannot accept telephone bookings for any events.*

◆ 1939 and the Coming of War Historical Association/Institute of Contemporary British History Sixth-Form Conference

Wednesday, 27 September 1989

This major conference, to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, will consider the events of half a century ago. The day begins at 10.00 a.m. with Dr D. Stevenson (LSE) on *The Origins of the Second World War*. Professor William Carr (Sheffield) will then consider *Germany and the Axis* and this is followed by Dr R. Overy (Kings College, London) on *Rearmament and Military Planning*. After a break for lunch Professor Keith Robbins (Glasgow) will talk on *Britain — the Countdown to War*, and the final talk will be by Dr Andrew Crozier (QMC) on *Russia, and East Europe*. The day ends at 3.40 p.m. Talks have been deliberately kept to 35 minutes in length to allow ample time for discussion. It is hoped that sound archive material will be used on the day.

The cost of the day, is £3.50 to members and students from corporate member schools, £4 to non-members. (A free ticket will be provided for every teacher bringing five or more students). Please make cheques payable to the Historical Association and send all bookings to Pippa Lewis, ASC Word Pro, 30 Stone Lane, Lydiard, Millicent, Swindon, SN5 9LD.



◆ Owain Glyn Dŵr, Cardiff

Saturday, 30 September 1989

The subject of this year's one day course held in conjunction with the Cardiff Branch and Welsh Historic Monuments (Cadw) is *Owain Glyn Dŵr and Late Medieval Wales*. This will be held in the large Sherman Theatre of the Main Building, University of Wales, College

of Cardiff. The day begins at 10.45 a.m. with a lecture by Dr Gwynfor Jones (Cardiff) on *Co-existence, Co-operation and Confrontation: Anglo-Welsh relations in the fourteenth century*. After coffee Professor R.R. Davies (Aberystwyth) considers the rebel himself *Owain Glyn Dŵr*, and following the lunch interval Mr Rhidian Griffiths (National Library of Wales) talks on *The Making of a King: Henry V and the Glyn Dŵr Revolt*. After a short break for tea there will be a round-table discussion and the day will finish at about 3.30 p.m.

Price, including coffee, tea and biscuits, is HA and Cadw members £7.75, non-members £10. Please note that there will only be an hour for lunch so you are strongly advised to book a meal at the University, price £4.75, in advance. This will save having to find a meal in Cardiff.

◆ Privilege Visit to Wallington, Cambo

Saturday, 30 September 1989

The Northern Region Branches announce a privilege visit to Wallington House, Wallied Garden and Grounds, Cambo, Northumberland. The day begins at 10 a.m. with coffee followed by a guided tour of the gardens. Following lunch, Mr Carl Oliver, Administrator of Wallington and Mr Hugh Dixon, Historic Buildings Representative for the Northumbria Region of the National Trust will speak on the Hall and on William Bell Scott's paintings in the Central Hall. There will be a tour of the Hall, and the Committee Room will be opened for a special exhibition of the archives. The cellars will be made available to the party. The day will end at 4 p.m.

The cost of the day is £10 (£7.50 National Trust members) including lunch, £5 (National Trust £2.50) without lunch. £6 (National Trust £3.50) children under the age of 18 years including lunch. Apply, and make cheques payable to: Professor G.R. Batho, School of Education, Leazes Road, Durham, DH1 1TA.

◆ Private Viewing of Guards' Museum, London

Thursday, 5 October 1989

This private evening opening of the Guards' Museum, Wellington Barracks, Birdcage Walk, SW1 has been organised by the Silver Study Group. During this exclusive visit the Curator will describe the fascinating history of the 300 years of service by the Guards. Along with Myrtle Ellis, silver historian and founder of the SSG, he will also describe the important silver of the regiments. The evening begins at 6 p.m. and ends at 7.45 p.m.

The tickets are £5 to HA and SSG members and their guests. Apply, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope and a cheque made payable to The Silver Study Group, PO Box 93, London, NW4 3DW as soon as possible. For security reasons please give the full names and addresses of all participants.

◆ Family Visit to the Houses of Parliament

Tuesday, 24 October 1989

Wednesday, 25 October 1989

The Historical Association has arranged two exclusive guided tours of the Palace of Westminster for members and their families during the Autumn half-term. Both begin at 11 a.m. and last for about 1 hour and 30 minutes. They will be led by members of the Houses of Parliament Education Department. This is a rare opportunity for families to see the Palace and as spaces are limited you are advised to book early. This is the second in the HA's family events series.

The price is £2 to members and their children and for children from corporate member schools, £2.25 to guests of members. A family ticket (2 adults and 2 children or 1 adult and 3 children; one person must be a HA member) is £7. Please note that there is no booking form for this event; simply send a cheque made payable to The Historical Association with the appropriate details to Headquarters. Please state preference of dates, and full names and addresses as well as ages of children.



◆ History — its Role and Value, Edinburgh

Saturday, 28 October 1989

This joint conference sponsored by the Historical Association/Scottish Association of Teachers of History will consider the role of history as a study of value and relevance in the 1990s and beyond. It will be held at the University of Edinburgh and will be aimed at a wide variety of those concerned with history and history teaching in Scotland: educators (including those in decision making positions), parents and school boards, business and commercial interests and pupils. Following a welcome at 11 a.m. by Professor Harry Dickinson (Chairman, HA Edinburgh Branch) there will be a major keynote speech chaired by Professor Keith Robbins (President, HA). This will be followed after coffee by Mr Jim McArthur (Adviser in history, Strathclyde Region) speaking on *History in Scottish Schools*; this will be chaired by Mr Danny Murphy (President, SATH). Following lunch, participants will split into small groups to consider what they have heard in the morning and the ways forward for history teaching in Scotland. They will also formulate specific questions to be put to the distinguished panel which then follows. Under the Chairmanship of Sir Kenneth Alexander (Chancellor, Aberdeen University) the panel will consist of Miss Mary Bryden (Head of Education, National Museums of Scotland), Dr Malcolm Green (Chairman, Education Committee, Strathclyde), Sir Norman Macfarlane (Chairman, Macfarlane Group (Clansman) PLC), Duncan Toms (History teacher, Bearsden Academy), and a careers advisor. Following closing remarks by Sir Kenneth Alexander the day will end with tea at about 4 p.m. Each delegate will receive a pamphlet on history in Scottish schools especially produced for the conference.

The cost of the day including coffee, tea and the pamphlet is £7.50 HA and SATH members, £9.00 non-members. Lunch is £6.00 extra. Please make cheques payable to The Historical Association and send to Mr A. Goodman, Edinburgh Branch Secretary, Department of History, University of Edinburgh, William Robertson Building, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JY.

◆ The French Revolution

Friday, 24 November 1989

Because of the enormous demand for places at the March conference the Historical Association and the Society for the Study of French History are holding another sixth-form

conference on the French Revolution in conjunction with the University of London in Senate House, WC1. The day begins at 10.30 a.m. with Professor William Doyle (Bristol) speaking on *What Destroyed the Old Regime?* After coffee Dr Malcolm Crooke (Keele) considers *The Terror* followed by a time for discussion and questions from the floor. After a break for lunch Dr Pamela Pilbeam (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London) will talk on *The Impact of the French Revolution on Nineteenth-Century France*. Following a second discussion period the day will finish with tea at 3.15 p.m. The conference will be chaired by Professor Douglas Johnson.

The cost of the day, which includes coffee and tea, is £3.25 to HA and SSFH members and students from corporate member schools, £4 to non-members.

◆ The Wars of the Roses in the North, York

Saturday, 18 November 1989

This year's conference organised in conjunction with the York Branch will focus on the *Wars of the Roses in the North*. It will be held once again in Goodricke College, York University, a short distance from the city. The day begins at 10.30 a.m. with coffee and at 11 a.m. Dr Anthony Pollard (Teesside Polytechnic) will speak on *The North and the Origins of the Wars of the Roses*. After coffee Professor Barrie Dobson (Cambridge) will lecture on *The Archbishops of York and the Wars of the Roses*. Following lunch, Dr K. Dockray (Huddersfield Polytechnic) will talk on *The Yorkshire Plumpton and their Letters in the Fifteenth Century*, followed by a round table discussion involving all the speakers. The day ends with tea and biscuits at 3.45 p.m.

The cost of the day is £6.50 to members, £8.50 to non-members, £4.25 to student members and £5.50 to non-member students. Lunch at the College is £5.50 extra. It is worth remembering that York is only just over 2 hours away by train from London. Buses to and from the University run every 12 minutes and there are always plenty of taxis at the station.

◆ Privilege Visit to Lambeth Palace, London

Thursday, 14 December 1989

Lambeth Palace is the London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and has been in continuous use for over 700 years. Although much of the building is fifteenth-century, the crypt is medieval and the Great Hall is sixteenth-century. Our tour begins at 2.15 p.m. and lasts for 75 minutes. Numbers are restricted so please book early. Part of the proceeds will go to the Chapel Fund. The price is £6.50 to members and £8.50 to non-members.

◆ Christmas Holiday Afternoon for Young People

Thursday, 28 December 1989, 2.30 p.m. - 4.40 p.m.

Magnus Magnusson will be giving this year's lecture for young people, aged 8 to 13, on *Vikings!* As usual this will take place at the Museum of London. Men in Viking costume from the Norse Film and Pageant Society will be present to demonstrate a shield wall and explain their clothing and weapons. Hopefully one or two artifacts from the Museum's collection will be brought out especially for the occasion and after the talk children can visit the Museum's Dark Ages and Medieval Galleries.

The price is only £1.50 to members and their children, and for children from corporate member schools, £1.75 to non-members. A family ticket (2 adults and 3 children or 1 adult and 4 children; one of the party must be a HA member) is £6.50 or £7.75 for a non-member family.

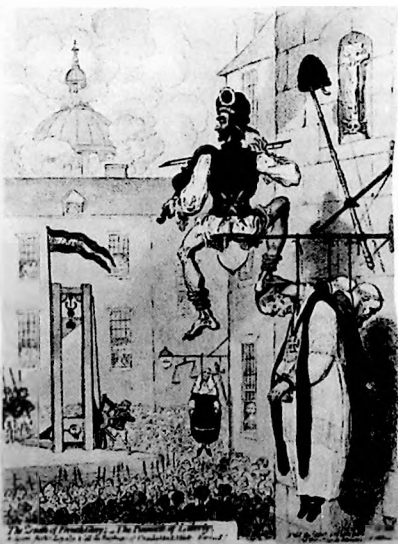
◆ History after Higginson: 16-19 curriculum

Saturday, 6 January 1990

This conference will take place in the new History and Social Sciences Teacher Centre, Southwark. The issues will be explored in the context of the National Curriculum and developments in GCSE and in higher education (not forgetting the Higginson Report still in cold storage). During the day members will work in discussion groups concentrating on A Level, A/S Level and objectives and assessment in 16-19 courses (including alternatives to A and A/S). Each group will have an opportunity to question representatives from the examination boards and other validating bodies, and to talk with members of ETHOS, the Cambridge Projects and teachers in higher education. It is hoped each group will produce a report that can provide material for a submission to the DES. There will be a display of books and other resources for 16-19 teaching.

(The Annual Education Conference in 1990 will be held in Birmingham from 21-22 September 1990. Its title is *Living with the National Curriculum*.)

The cost of the day is £5 to members and £7 to non-members.



THE HISTORICAL WORLD

NOTICE BOARD

COURSES

- University of Cambridge, Board of Extra-mural Studies, Madingley Hall, Madingley, Cambridge CB3 8AQ
The Nobility of Late-Medieval East Anglia, 21-25 August
The English Garden in Historical Perspective, 25-27 August
The Local History of the Smaller Town, 25-30 August
Elizabethan and Stuart England, 1-3 September
The Monastic Houses of Norwich, 8-10 September. This course will be held at Wensum Lodge, 169 King Street, Norwich.
Arts and Inca, 15-17 September
Victorian Britain, 15-17 September
Churches of the Fens, 29 September-1 October
Medieval Warfare, 13-15 October
Reading Latin Documents (Intermediate), 27-29 October
The Late Gothic World, 10-12 November
Advanced Genealogy: The Records of the Church of England, 10-12 November
The French Revolution, 10-12 November
History of English Antiquity

- Furniture, c. 1500-1900*, 24-26 November
Renaissance Art in Theory and in Practice, 1-3 December
The Pastons and their England, 15-17 December
• Snowdonia National Park Study Centre, Plas Tan y Bwlch, Maentwrog, Gwynedd LL41 3YU
Vernacular Architecture, 17-22 November
Early Mining Workshop, 17-22 November
• The Iron Bridge Institute, Ironbridge Gorge Museum, Ironbridge, Telford, Shropshire TF8 7AW
The Ironbridge Training Excavation in Industrial Archaeology, 18-30 September
Selling Heritage in the Shop, Part II: Merchandising and Customer Relations, 3-4 October
Is History Nice? The Danger of the Deferential Museum, 6 November
Behind the High Street: The Hidden History of the Town Centre, 16 November
Port Books, 30 November
• University of Manchester, Department of Extra-mural Studies, Manchester M13 9PL
Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, Mondays, 10 meetings beginning 9 October

Egyptology, Thursdays beginning 18 October
Hieroglyphics, Mondays, 12 meetings beginning 23 October

CONFERENCES

- University of Hull, Department of European & Modern Dutch Studies, Hull HU6 7RX
International Conference: European Unity in Context: Dimensions of European Unity in the Postwar World, 20-24 September (Contact Dr P.M.R. Stirk)
- University of Keele, Centre for Local History, Keele, Staffs ST5 5BG
Twentieth Century Local History: Sources and Problems, 2-3 September. (contact Mrs Ann Seaton; Department of History)
- History Workshop 23, Salford University
Class Community and Conflict, 3-5 November 1989, (contact Helen Bowyer, Working Class Movement Library, 51 Crescent, Salford M5 4WX)

TOURS

- Maryland College, Woburn, Milton Keynes MK17 9JD
Venice and Palladio, 31 October - 8 November
- The Hill Residential College, Pen-y-Pound, Abergavenny, Gwent NP7 7RP (contact the Principal)
- Umbria & the Etruscans*, October 1989. (Assissi, Orvieto and Tarquinia are the highlights of this tour to examine the mysterious Etruscan Civilisation.)

EXCAVATIONS

- Shenley, Buckinghamshire
Westbury multi-period site, 3 April - 1 December. Apply to Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit, 16 Erica Road, Stacey Bushes, Milton Keynes MK12 6PA
- Walton, Buckinghamshire
Wavendon Gate multi-period site, 3 April - 29 September. Apply to Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit, 16 Erica Road, Stacey Bushes, Milton Keynes MK12 6PA
- Pontnewydd Cave, Clwyd
Palaeolithic cave, 31 August-29 September. Apply to Dr H.S. Green, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff CF1 3NP
- Raunds, Northamptonshire
West Cotton, 10 April-27 October. Apply to Archaeology Unit, 2 Bolton House, Mere Way, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton NN4 9BE
- West Heslerton, North Yorkshire
Heslerton Parish Project, 22 July-30 September. Apply to Christine Haughian, Wold Farm, West Heslerton, Malton, North Yorkshire YO17 8RY

SEMINAR

- Victoria County Histories/CORAL, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London, WC1E 7HU
Sources for the History of the Local Economy, 30 September

LECTURES

- William Morris Society, Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, London W6 9TA
The Art of Work: An Epitaph to Skill, (Roger Coleman) 27 September 1989 (at the Royal Society of Arts)
- A Dream of John Ball: The Significance of Morris' poem*, (Professor R Hilton) 26 October (at the LSE)
- The Heraldry Society, 44/45 Museum Street, London WC1
From Heraldic Badge to Dynastic Hieroglyph: images of Tudor Kingship, (Professor S. Anglo) 15 November (at the Society of Antiquaries, Piccadilly)



◆ Society for the Social History of Medicine

The Society for the Social History of Medicine was established in 1969 and since that time has helped establish the social history of medicine as a major

recognised field of historical inquiry. It has brought together research by specialist historians of medicine, general historians, and social and medical scientists. The SSHM is concerned equally with biological aspects of normal life, with patients within their economic, social and political environments, and with systems of health and welfare provision. Therefore, it embraces the historical aspects of human biology, social construction of medical theory, social and political theory as it relates to the history of medicine, the family, epidemiology, medicine in popular culture and medical professionalization, institutionalization and innovation. The Society organises an evening seminar series at the Institute of Historical Research, London University, and arranges one day meetings. An annual conference is held on a theme designed to attract participants from all branches of the subject, lay and professional — the

summer 1989 conference was held at Oxford Polytechnic on *Medicine and the Media*. A series of collected volumes is to be published by Routledge on behalf of the Society. The major achievement of the Society has been the successful launch of the journal *Social History of Medicine* (Oxford Journals) in 1988. The subscription rate for individual members of the Society is £12 p.a., which includes the journal. For further information on SSHM, please write to Dr. Mary Fissell, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, The University, Manchester, M13 9PL.

◆ The Heraldry Society



The Heraldry Society exists to increase and extend interest in, and knowledge of

heraldry, armory, chivalry, genealogy and allied subjects. In 1947 John Brooke-Little, now Norroy and Ulster King of Arms, founded The Society of Heraldic Antiquaries. In 1950 this was placed under the control of an elected Council and the name was changed to The Heraldry Society. By Letters Patent dated 10 August 1957, arms, supporters and a badge were granted to the Society. Membership is open to all. The Society has staged a number of heraldic exhibitions, and organizes heraldic congresses. The Newsletter of the Society, *The Heraldry Gazette* reaches a wide public, through being quoted in the national and local press. This has often resulted in instances of heraldic mis-use, first brought to attention by *The Heraldry Gazette*, being corrected through pressure of public opinion. The Heraldry Society publishes the only national heraldic magazine in Great Britain — *The Coat of Arms*. For further details of membership write to The Heraldry Society, 44/45 Museum Street, London WC1.

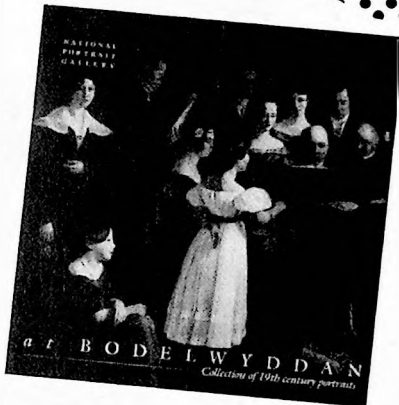
◆ Institut Français



The French Institute was founded in 1910 for the purpose of promoting French culture in Great Britain, and particularly in London. Situated in the heart of South Kensington, it has extensive facilities: a 350-seat professionally-equipped theatre, a library which is the largest French documentation centre in London, an art gallery, a film and video library, satellite television equipment, and a Café-Club. The Institute offers a very wide range of French cultural activities throughout the year: dance, concerts, plays, films, exhibitions, lectures. It also organizes seminars and international conferences on literature and on history. Lectures have recently been given by François Furet, Jacques Le Goff, Roger Chartier, Michel Vovelle. In March 1989, the Institute held a colloquium on *War and Warfare in France, England and Burgundy in the late Middle Ages*. The Institute's Studies Department provides courses in French (all levels) given by native French teachers. There are over a thousand members of the Institute and applications for membership are welcome. Membership gives free admission to films, lectures and exhibitions and free use of the library. Members are also entitled to reduced prices on tickets for other cultural events. All members receive the quarterly programme of the Institute.

For further information on the French Institute, its activities or membership, please write to the Membership Secretary, Institut Français du Royaume-Uni, 17 Queensberry Place, South Kensington, London SW7 2DT (telephone 01-589 6211). For details on special concessions to Historical Association members see the HA page in this issue of *The Historian*.

NEWS



◆ NPG News

Bodelwyddan Castle, near St Asaph, Clwyd, through a unique collaboration between the National Portrait Gallery and Clwyd County Council, was opened to the public in July 1988. Set in delightful surrounds, Williams Hall, the part of the Castle which houses the National Portrait Gallery's nineteenth-century portraits, has been restored to its former glory as a Victorian country house. Approximately two hundred of the Gallery's most important nineteenth-century portraits are on show. They are arranged thematically: politicians such as Joseph Chamberlain by John Singer Sargent, famous women including Florence Nightingale, and in the Billiard Room famous sporting figures and Vanity Fair cartoons. The main drawing room has been transformed into a Sculpture Gallery where, in addition to works from the National Portrait Gallery, there are several statues by the North Wales sculptor John Gibson and the magnificent Star and Brunswick Table dating to 1851. For further details contact the Director, Bodelwyddan Castle, near St Asaph, Clwyd, Wales LL18 5YA.

Back in London the National Portrait Gallery has recently re-opened its eighteenth-century galleries, closed for the past year for renovation and redecoration. The rooms retain their oak and teak panelling or are newly hung with fabric. Apricot and red damask provide a glowing backdrop for portraits by Gainsborough, Hogarth, Stubbs and Reynolds. Jacob Simon, Curator of the eighteenth-century collection, selected the portraits for the galleries.

◆ House of Dun

The House of Dun, an eighteenth-century mansion house near Montrose in Angus, designed by William Adams, has been recently restored by the National Trust for Scotland at a cost of £1,000,000. The

original castle was replaced by a later building to be followed by the present house built in 1730 to designs by William Adams for David Erskine, Lord Dun, the twelfth laird and a leading Scottish judge. The most important feature of the interior is the exuberant plasterwork in the saloon by Joseph Enzer. The house is presented in two distinct periods — the William Adams era and the period of Lady Augusta Kennedy-Erskine, natural daughter of the Duke of Clarence, later William IV. Lady Augusta carried out extensive renovation to the house in the mid-nineteenth century. The house contains royal mementoes of this period. The courtyard buildings now house a visitor reception area and exhibitions on the architecture of the house. There is also Lady Augusta's kitchen, restored and now used as a tearoom, a gamekeeper's bothy and a cottage in which a working weaver can be seen at his craft. Restoration of the garden is based on a sepia print of about 1890, the only evidence of the gardens laid out by Lady Augusta in the 1840s. The site of the old mill has been converted into a car park for wildfowling visitors the Montrose Basin and for ornithologists using hides in the Montrose Basin Local Nature Reserve.

◆ Mutiny on the Bounty



You've seen the film (there have been four), now visit the exhibition. Until 1 October the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich is holding an international exhibition to mark the bicentenary of the most famous mutiny in maritime history. It was in December 1787 that HMS Bounty under the command of Lt William Bligh RN, left Portsmouth bound for Tahiti. The island seemed like paradise to the exhausted sailors and they stayed for five months. Unwilling to return to sea the men under Fletcher Christian, acting lieutenant, mutinied and bundled Bligh and 18 of his crew into an open launch. Amazingly, they travelled 3,600 miles to Timor whilst the Bounty sailed back to Tahiti. There some of the men stayed whilst Fletcher Christian and the rest sailed on to land at Pitcairn Island. The exhibition contrasts the life on

board ship with the joys of Tahiti. You can eavesdrop on the crew and see Bligh and his loyal band in a full size tableau of the launch battling against the elements. There is also an opportunity to witness the trial of the surviving mutineers in a full size reconstruction of the Great Cabin of HMS Duke.

◆ Science to the Rescue

Following their help in dating the Turin Shroud, scientists from the UK Atomic Energy Authority's Harwell Laboratory have now dated a bone fragment reputed to be part of the relics of St Edward the Martyr who was killed in 978. A piece of rib bone weighing two grams was subjected to the technique of carbon-14 dating, resulting in its age being estimated c.900. The bone fragment was taken from the half-complete skeleton of a young male preserved in a leaden casket excavated in Shaftesbury Abbey in 1931.

The Royal Armouries have meanwhile launched a wide range of analytical services aimed at museum curators, archaeologists, dealers and collectors. These techniques reveal what an object is made of and how it was made. This information can be used for the detection of fakes, pin-pointing restorations, identifying manufacturing techniques, assisting in art historical research and for assessing the condition of objects. The Royal Armouries specialise in the analysis of metalwork using XRF (X-ray fluorescence spectrometry) specially adapted to allow the non-destructive analysis of objects from a few millimetres in size to the size of cannon. X-radiography can reveal hidden detail in archaeological artefacts, evidence of restoration and manufacturing techniques, and help assess the condition of objects. For further information contact the Conservation Department, The Royal Armouries, HM Tower of London, London EC3N 4AB.

◆ Winchester Cathedral

A new gallery of medieval and post-medieval art has been opened in the Triforium of Winchester Cathedral's South Transept. One hundred and fifty objects from the Cathedral's collection of sculpture, woodwork and metalwork will be on display. The collections are generally regarded as being the most important of their kind in any English cathedral and comprise architectural and figure sculpture dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, painted timber sculpture from the seventeenth century, rings from the tombs of medieval bishops and other remarkable survivals from the Cathedral's early history. The figure sculpture is of outstanding quality, especially the *Madonna and Child* (1480-90) from the High Altar Screen, which gives some indication of the colourful splendour of the interior of the Cathedral before the Reformation. For those members with a head for heights the views from the Triforium are breathtaking and give a quite different perspective of the Cathedral. The



gallery is open from 10.30 a.m.-1 p.m. and 2 p.m.-4.30 p.m. every day during the summer except for Sundays and Monday mornings. Admission to the Library (housing the magnificent twelfth-century Winchester Bible) and the Trifonium Gallery is £1, and 50p for concessions.

◆ Appeals for Help

The project on Small Towns in England 1600-1850 was set up at Leicester University in 1985. It aims to chart the changing economic and social fortunes of the country's 800 or so small towns, explaining the patterns which emerge. Population and occupational material form the principal areas of investigation, using sources such as parish registers, the Compton Census, tax listings, and directories. In addition, descriptive information is being compiled from a wide range of local and printed sources and a bibliography of published work on individual small towns is being collected. Thus the project is creating a permanent database of historical information which will be available to the public at the Centre for Urban History, Leicester University. Important help has already been given by a number of local historians, assisting with the collection of parish-register and occupational material. However, the project would welcome more support of this kind, both from individuals and from local history groups. Special forms and advice packages are provided free of charge and you are also welcome to meetings with the research team at Leicester. If you would like to participate or want more information please contact Dr Adrian Wilson, Small Towns Project, Centre for Urban History, Leicester University, LE1 7RH.

◆ Richard III Grants

The Richard III and Yorkist History Trust has been recently founded to further education and research related to the history of late fifteenth-century England and to encourage publication of such research. In furtherance of its aims the Trust is offering small grants (up to about £100) to assist post-graduate students with research expenses. Closing dates for applications are 1 April and 1 October each year. For an application form write to

The Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 3 Campden Terrace, Linden Gardens, London W4 2EP, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.

◆ 'The Burghley Clocks'

This year's exhibition at Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire, is devoted to a survey of the many historic clocks found in this distinguished Elizabethan country house. They date from the late seventeenth century to the middle of this century. The exhibition reflects the tastes and interests of generations of the Cecil



family, owners of the house. Quite apart from the antique examples, visitors will see a rare electric mantel clock of c. 1905 encased in a large glass dome, and the watch worn by David, sixth Marquess of Exeter when he won a gold medal in the 400 metres hurdles event at the 1928 Olympics. The exhibition is open on weekdays 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. until 1 October.

◆ Shugborough Events



Visitors to the Georgian mansion at Shugborough, six miles east of Stafford, will have plenty to do between now and Christmas. An exhibition entitled *Everything Stops for Tea* will invite members of the public to do just that. Visitors are invited to 'take tea' and join in with activities including a 'Tea Drinkers Roadshow' with valuations by Sotheby's. There is an exhibition of tea paraphernalia dating from the seventeenth century and Mr Sam Twining of the famous tea family will give lectures and demonstrations. On 17 September you can farm in the old fashioned way at Shugborough's Victorian Harvest. The land is worked by shire horses, the corn mill produces flour for bread baked in the brick bread oven and wool is spun and woven into cloth. You can harvest and thresh corn with vintage machinery and warm your hands to original milking methods. Shugborough is open daily from 11 a.m. Easter to Christmas. For further information telephone Little Haywood (0889) 881388.

Spotlight

Cheltenham



In 1990 the Historical Association Annual Conference will be held in Cheltenham. John Howe, conference secretary, provides us with a preview of this historic city.

Cheltenham owes its growth as a town to its spa waters. Up until the early eighteenth century it was little more than a single street, 'a longe towne having a market' as John Leland had described it in Henry VIII's reign. The development of the spa dates from 1740 but it was not until the turn of the century that rapid expansion began, boosted it is said by the visit of George III in 1788, the bicentenary of which was celebrated in fine style last summer. Despite the fact that Cheltenham's waters failed to effect a permanent cure for the monarch the trickle of visitors grew to a flood, among them such national figures as the Duke of Wellington and the young Princess Victoria with her mother in 1830.

Not all visitors were friendly. William Cobbett in 1821 found 'a nasty ill-looking place' full of 'tax-eaters', a 'resort of the lame and the lazy, the gourmandising and the guzzling, the bilious and the nervous', and on a return visit in 1830 the citizens broke up his meeting and burnt his effigy in the High Street!

The growth of population was sufficient to justify the award of a parliamentary seat to the town in 1832 and there is a statue of William IV in Imperial Gardens to celebrate the fact. The fine terraces, parks and gardens provided for the visitors to the spa remain, as do the rows of terraced cottages for their servants and the trades people who met their needs. The fashion for taking the waters declined, however, and Cheltenham became instead an educational centre and a home for retired military and colonial officers. The legacy of the latter may

The Queen's Hotel, built in 1837 on the site of the Imperial Spa and overlooking Imperial Gardens and the Promenade

Neptune's fountain in the town centre was installed in 1893 and has been carefully restored this year. Water is pumped from the River Chelt culverted just underneath



be seen in the imposing Victorian villas of Pittville and The Park, and in the gothic churches, while the colleges remain important contributors to the life of the town today.

The churches and colleges serve also as a reminder of the local evangelical traditions and of Dean Frances Close whose forceful character may have contributed to the formation of the town's two public schools as well as schools for the poor and training institutions for their teachers. These two institutions became the colleges of St Paul and St Mary, and the conference will be based at the former St Mary's site in the Park. The Park was laid out in the 1830s as a zoological garden with surrounding carriage drive and large detached villas. The venture was a commercial failure and Fullwood House was built in the gardens whose lake, walks, lawns and trees still enrich the college environment. When the college acquired the property, residential and later teaching blocks were built so that nearly all the conference functions will take place within easy walking distance for all delegates.

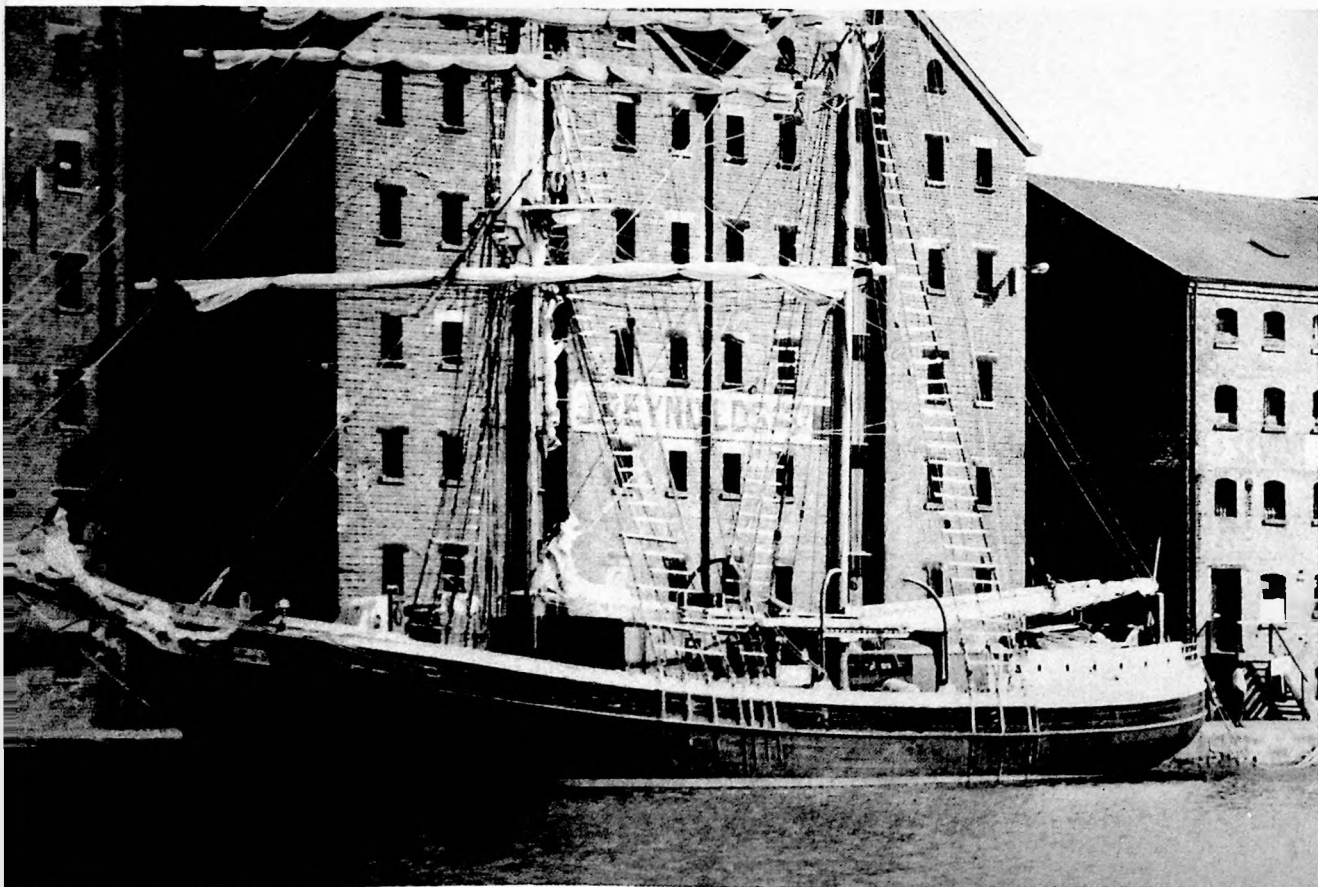
The image of spa-visitors, evangelical clergy and colonels is, however, a misleading one for since the last war the town has rapidly developed as a business centre and more recently has revived its appeal as a resort and tourist centre. The summer music festival is internationally known with performances in the Pittville Pump Room (1825) the romanesque Town Hall (1903) and the Everyman Theatre, recently modernised. Parks and gardens are superb — the town has twice recently won the Britain in Bloom competition — and the Borough Council has recently completed an imaginative scheme to pedestrianise much of the town centre, where an impressive modern shopping complex is housed in the Regency Arcade.

Cheltenham is also an ideal centre from which to visit a range of historic sites representing every period of British history. Over the past twenty years excavation at Crickley Hill fort on the Cotswold escarpment almost overlooking the town has established it as one of the most important archaeological sites in Britain for neolithic, bronze age, iron age and even post Roman periods. Roman occupation is evident in Cirencester and beneath many other layers, in the county town of Gloucester. Medieval sites range from Saxon Deerhurst to Gloucester Cathedral and lost villages; fine country houses such as Dyrham Park and the newly restored Rococo gardens of Painswick House attest the civilised prosperity of the eighteenth century. To the surprise, perhaps, of some, the county also possesses an industrial past for the Stroud valleys saw the first stage of the industrial revolution while coal and iron mines dominated the Forest of Dean. Gloucester's fine early nineteenth-century docks have long been known to transport historians but are now becoming more widely known as the site of the new British Waterways Museum.

All these and more will appear in our visits programme and the usual social events are planned. Delegates will be welcomed by the Mayor and should have the chance to taste the water before an evening visit to what we hope by April will be the newly completed extensions to the museum and art gallery. Other receptions and the annual dinner will be held in the college where we shall also have a range of displays and book exhibitions. Finally the last day of the conference will conclude with a session with local historians from Gloucestershire run jointly with the local history committee of the Community Council.

We are sure that you will find a visit to the college, to Cheltenham and to Gloucestershire a stimulating, interesting and enjoyable experience.

Gloucester Docks dating from the early nineteenth century and now the site of the British Waterways' National Museum



MODULAR HUMANITIES

SAMHI — The Subject Association's Modular Humanities Initiative was set up by the Economics, Geographical, Historical and Political Associations to investigate:

the characteristics of humanities in the core curriculum 14-16, with the aim of achieving satisfactory definitions of coherence and progression;

guidelines or principles for modular combinations within humanities programmes;

the specific contribution which individual subjects can make to the humanities area.

SAMHI — held a conference in Birmingham in May 1988 which considered how the implementation of a national curriculum might affect humanities and explored a definition of humanities, coherence and progression.

*Copies of the conference report are obtainable **FREE**,
on request, from The Historical Association,
59a Kennington Park Road, London SE11 4JH,
while stocks last.*

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